DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 189 011 SO 012 709

TITLE	Reviews of National Policies for Education: Denmark.
INSTITUTION	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris (France).
PUB DATE	80
NOTE	154p.
AVAILABLE FROM	OECD Publications and Information Center, Suite 1207, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20006 ($10.50)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Education; Career Education; *Comparative Education; Early Childhood Education; Educational Planning; *Educational Policy; Educational Trends; Elementary Secondary Education; Higher Education; Vocational Education
IDENTIFIERS	Denmark

ABSTRACT

This publication reviews educational policies in Denmark. The review focuses on and examines a national report on the entire education system published under the title of "U-90: Danish Educational Planning and Policy in a Social Context at the End of the 20th Century." In 1977 the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) was asked to appoint a team of examiners to comment critically on U-90. This publication contains the examiner's report in four parts. The first part appraises the extent to which U-90 provides a comprehensive and convincing orientation to the development of an education system that will be able to adapt to anticipated social and economic changes during the next two decades. The second part of the review analyzes trends and problems in the various sectors of the system. The third part suggests how the governmental machinery, the school community, and educational researchers and practitioners might cooperate to lead Danish education toward 1990 along the most suitable path. Part four provides a summary of the examiner's report. (Author/RM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

AUG 01 1980

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

OECD

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

OECD

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

ED189011

SP 012 709

REVIEWS OF NATIONAL POLICIES FOR EDUCATION

DENMARK

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT
PARIS 1980

2

JUL 29 1980

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) was set up under a Convention signed in Paris on 14th December 1960, which provides that the OECD shall promote policies designed:

- to achieve the highest sustainable economic growth and employment and a rising standard of living in Member countries, while maintaining financial stability, and thus to contribute to the development of the world economy;
- to contribute to sound economic expansion in Member as well as non-member countries in the process of economic development;
- to contribute to the expansion of world trade on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis in accordance with international obligations.

The Members of OECD are Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Publié en français sous le titre :

EXAMENS DES POLITIQUES
NATIONALES D'ÉDUCATION
DANEMARK

© OECD, 1980
Queries concerning permissions or translation rights should be addressed to:
Director of Information, OECD
2, rue André-Pascal, 75775 PARIS CEDEX 16, France.

CONTENTS

Preface 5

The Examiners and the Danish Delegation 7

Part One

THE EXAMINERS' REPORT

Introduction 11

U-90 IN PERSPECTIVE 13

I. The Setting 13

II. U-90 as an Orientation 16

TRENDS AND ISSUES IN DANISH EDUCATION 25

III. Basic Education 25

IV. Youth Education and the World of Work 42

V. Higher and Adult Education 54

TOWARDS 1990 69

VI. Issues of Structure and Procedure 69

VII. Questions for the Future 78

Part Two

RECORD OF THE REVIEW MEETING

(19-20 June, 1979)

I. Introduction 87

II. General Policy Issues 91

III. Basic and Youth Education 97
IV. Adult and Higher Education 103
V. The Planning Process 109
VI. International Perspectives 113

Part Three

PHASE ONE OF THE REVIEW

I. Interim Outline of the U-90 Plan 117
II. Report on the Examiners' First Visit 133

Part Four

SUMMARY OF U-90, DANISH EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND POLICY IN A SOCIAL CONTEXT AT THE END OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Summary of the Majority Statement 143
Summary of Minority Statements 154

PREFACE

This review of education policies in Denmark is particularly interesting in two respects. First, it was conducted in two stages. Secondly, it was focused on a national report on the entire education system, recently published under the title of U-90: Danish Educational Planning and Policy in a Social Context at the End of the Twentieth Century.

U-90 signifies education in 1990, and from the outset it was decided it should reflect the views of a wide cross-section of Danish society and take into account relevant experiences from other countries. In 1977 the OECD was asked to contribute to the external input by appointing a team of examiners to comment critically on the plan when it was in provisional form, and subsequently to review the Danish education system, using as a point of entry the final version of U-90.

This second stage has now been completed with an examiners' report that is in three parts. The first appraises the extent to which U-90 provides a comprehensive and convincing orientation to the development of an education system that will be able to adapt to anticipated social and economic changes during the next two decades. The second analyses trends and problems in the various sectors of the system; the third suggests how the governmental machinery, the school community and educational researchers and practitioners might co-operate to lead Danish education towards 1990 along the most suitable path.

In their review the examiners raise many central issues. Of these, several questions have significance for all OECD Member countries such as: What importance is attached to early start programmes for children from disadvantaged backgrounds? What arrangements exist and are under consideration for maintaining close co-operation between the schools and parents? What are the reasons for the persistence in an egalitarian society of a large group of students who leave school without an adequate qualification? What education and training measures have been adopted, or are planned, to assist young people who are unemployed? Why do the Danish authorities favour the provision of integrated education and training services for the 16-19 age group? Is it intended to formulate an overall plan for the future development of

adult education? How much importance does the government attach to educational research and development compared with other types of publicly supported research activities?

These questions were fully answered, citing a good deal of new information, by the Danish authorities, who attended a review meeting at the OECD at the end of June 1979.

The volume is divided into four parts: i) The examiners' report; ii) The record of the review meeting held in Paris in June 1979; iii) The interim outline of the U-90 Plan together with the examiners' report on their first visit in Denmark; iv) A summary of the main recommendations in U-90.

THE EXAMINERS

Prof. Dr. R. Jochimsen	Minister for Science and Research, North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany. (Formely Under-Secretary of State, Federal Ministry of Education and Science, Bonn, Germany).
Dr. P. Austin	Vice-President for Academic Affairs, Baruch University, New York, United States (Formerly Deputy Assistant-Secretary for Education, HEW, Washington, United States).
Lord Briggs	The Provost, Worcester College, Oxford University, United Kingdom.
Dr. G. Hancock	Full-time member, Australian Schools Commission, Canberra, Australia.

DANISH DELEGATION

Mr. Erik Ib Schmidt	Under-Secretary of State and Chairman of the Central Council of Education.
Mr. Bjørn Brynskov	Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Education.
Mr. Ernst Goldschmidt	Deputy Under-Secretary, Ministry of Education.
Mr. A. Baunsbak-Jensen	Director-General, Directorate for Primary and Secondary Education.
Mr. Niels Hummeluhr	Acting Director General, Directorate for Vocational Education.
Mr. Jørgen Knudsen	Deputy Head of Division, Ministry of Education.

Part One

THE EXAMINERS' REPORT

INTRODUCTION

The invitation to the OECD to undertake a general review of Denmark's educational policy was deliberately timed to coincide with a major internal appraisal of the entire education system designed to identify present and emerging needs and to establish a framework on which to build policies for the long-term future.

In 1975, after fifteen years of rapid expansion and structural reform at all levels and in all sectors of education, the Minister of Education decided the time was ripe to take stock of "educational policy ... by weighing of goals and resources which makes it possible for us to see the totality and the interrelationships in what we are to do". She accordingly requested the Central Council of Education to carry out a comprehensive survey of the education system and to prepare a planning framework to cover the period up to 1990. The exercise came to be know as 'U-90' - 'U' being the first letter of the word 'uddannelse', that is, education. The Minister indicated that the Council should widely publicize the objectives and general orientation of its enquiries with a view to stimulating a lively public debate and eliciting reactions and proposals from groups and individuals throughout the nation.

From the beginning it was foreseen that the Council's report should be prepared in three main stages:

1. Distribution of an interim report designed to provide a general declaration of intent, to discuss planning problems, to examine in detail key issues and to suggest policy options.
2. Review of feedback from a variety of internal and external sources.
3. Publication of the final report.

The OECD was asked to appoint a panel of examiners with the task not only of undertaking a general review at the end of this process but of making a contribution at stage 2. For the latter purpose we studied documentary material and visited Denmark in February 1977 before submitting a report for consideration by the Central Council. *

---

* Part Three of this volume.

We visited Denmark for a period of two and a half weeks in May-June 1978 just as the Council's final report was made available to the Folketing (Parliament) and the general public. This enabled us to ascertain how the report was being received and to test for ourselves its validity as a statement of what was happening and what could happen.

Our own report may be described as an independent attempt to present issues and trends in Danish education by using U-90 as a constant frame of reference. We have also attempted to assess the significance of the whole U-90 exercise as a planning mode warranting the serious attention of other OECD Member countries.

During our visits to Denmark we had official consultations and informal conversations with a wide spectrum of concerned people. Our itinerary, as exhaustive as it was exhausting, took us to town and country on the main islands of Zeeland and Fyn and in Jutland. We salute the dedication of the many individuals and organisations whose candour and generosity, at both the professional and personal level, made us feel that we were genuinely sharing in the privilege of thinking through ways of meeting future educational needs. In particular, we gratefully acknowledge the indefatigable efforts of the Ministry of Education to facilitate our task.

U-90 IN PERSPECTIVE

I. THE SETTING

On 16 May 1978 the Minister of Education presented to the Danish Folketing (Parliament) a compendious and far-reaching report on the future of education up to 1990. This report, entitled U-90, was the culmination of an intensive national effort extending over almost three years. In her address the Minister declared that:

> We have never had such material at our disposal before, as previous planning in the educational field has either only dealt with part of the courses or been an element in a planning which is primarily economically oriented. Whether one takes a critical or commendatory attitude to the report it represents an attempt, not only at taking an overall view of Danish education, but also an assessment of its role in the development of society. *

What is the character of a country that would undertake such a bold endeavour? Denmark is a small country with a population of 5 million people occupying 43,000 square kilometres of Northern Europe between the North Sea and the Baltic. It comprises the Jutland peninsula and no fewer than 406 islands, excluding Greenland and the Faroe Islands. Communications are nevertheless very good.

Denmark has very few natural resources and virtually no energy base. By pioneering modern agriculture, however, and by subsequently diversifying the economy it has reached an advanced level both of economic and social development. While its gross economic output is small in relation to that of some European countries (11 per cent of France and 9 per cent of Germany, for example), it ranks fifth among the countries in the OECD world on a per capita basis (7,600 US dollars in 1976) placing it just behind the United States and Norway. ** The standard of living has thus reached a very high level and in the other Scandinavian

---

* The Central Council of Education, U-90, Danish Educational Planning and Policy in a Social Context at the End of the 20th Century, Schultz Forlag, Copenhagen, 1978, p. 343.

** Economic Surveys: Denmark, OECD, Paris, 1978.

countries the Danes have the reputation of being carefree spenders. This may well be an exaggeration, but there is no doubt that most Danes today experience a strong sense of material comfort.

This was not always so. The Danish economy, and with it the way of life, has been gradually transformed ever since the middle of the 19th century. The pace of economic change quickened in the aftermath of the worldwide breakdown of international trade in the Depression. Though still vitally important for its export trade, the role of agriculture on the economy has declined significantly (for example, from 9 per cent to 6 per cent of GDP during the past decade). By contrast there has been steady expansion in the manufacturing and tertiary sectors. Denmark has been particularly adept at developing export industries, especially those involving high level technology in the industrial domain. In 1976 the export of goods and services accounted for 33 per cent of GDP.

The remarkable leap forward in national wealth has had a profound impact on individual aspirations and community expectations, indeed on the very essence of the Danish character. In the 19th century, following severe military defeat, the Danes accepted the reality of no longer being a European middle power. They concentrated instead on developing their own homeland identity, producing in the process an unusually closely-knit society. A liking for informality does not denote any lack of order or efficiency. On the contrary, life in all its aspects is unobtrusively well organised, the outcome of experience over several generations in seeking pragmatic solutions to problems and achieving social harmony. The Second World War did not break this process.

Social class differences exist but are little commented upon - perhaps too little - and not noticeably divisive. Much of the nation's wealth has been used to build a 'welfare state' of which most Danes are intensely proud but which has recently run into criticism. They tend to think in terms of collective social responsibility and to believe that everyone must be properly cared for, so that public expenditure on goods and services, at 24 per cent of GDP, is second only to Sweden among OECD countries. Taxation is not only accordingly severe (the total share of public revenue accounted for by private incomes is about 47 per cent) but also highly progressive, forcing income levels to fall within a relatively narrow band. Reaction against the burdens placed on taxpayers usually expresses itself not so much in questioning the need for an enlightened and generous welfare system but rather in condemning the increasing power of experts and technocrats at the expense of 'the people' and the shift of influence from the localities to the centre.

One of the most striking features of Danish society is that, while nurturing a collectivist approach towards satisfying human needs, it cares deeply about local rights and is extraordinarily tolerant of non-conformist behaviour, whether by groups or individuals. To some outside

observers it seems odd for such a small country to have twelve political parties represented in the Folketing. In fact, this apparent political fragmentation, a relatively recent phenomenon, is really a mark of the determination of various interest groups to be seen and heard. Another manifestation of this tendency is due to the fact that a very high proportion of farms and commercial and manufacturing business are still relatively small by Western European standards.

The open-mindedness of the Danes is today illustrated in a multitude of ways. The springing up of communes, the latitude given to the young to experiment with a variety of life styles, the emancipated status of women, the lack of censorship and the acceptance of sexual freedom are examples. Underlying this is a tradition of moderation and common sense, a confident belief that human beings behave most reasonably when encouraged to make their own decisions.

While conscious of the distinctive qualities of their way of life, the Danes are far from being chauvinists. They feel a strong affinity to the other peoples of Scandinavia. Indeed, over and above their own uniqueness they recognize a Scandinavian entity. Beyond that they see themselves as having, and indeed being obliged to have, a strong European and internationalist outlook. Virtually devoid of natural resources, Denmark can survive and prosper only through energetic and successful trading. Being thus acutely aware of the need to cultivate close relations with other countries in Europe besides the Scandinavian group, it has elected, as the only Scandinavian country, to join the European Economic Community with all the political and social implications that such an attachment entails.

In general, it recognizes the necessity of bringing up the young with a strong international awareness and of ensuring that its citizens can command foreign languages and adapt to living in and working with countries in all parts of the world.

We have so far described a country that sounds like a model democracy in which material prosperity, social harmony and personal freedom reign. It is a description which the Danes themselves, who have a robust sense of humour and a sceptical character, will find overdrawn. Nevertheless, we believe that it is essentially accurate.

There are signs, however, that Denmark has now entered into a period of some uncertainty. We noted how during the period of full employment in the 1960s and early 1970s the welfare state expanded with particular vigour. This is seen by some people to have had marked and undesirable effects on living and working patterns: a rapid drift of population from the farms; diminution of family functions; lessening of popular participation in owner co-operatives and local government as smallness has yielded to the consolidation of farm and factory; increasing competition not only for shares of the market but also for

status and power in the hierarchies of expertise created by the new means of production.

Along with other OECD countries, Denmark today is also contending with the dual problems of inflation (7 per cent in 1979) and unemployment (now affecting 7.5 per cent of the workforce). The slackening of economic growth - to about 1.5 per cent of GDP in 1978 - has led to a widespread re-thinking of values, principles and practices in the public sector. Denmark faces an additional difficulty - a balance of payments deficit, amounting to 2.5 per cent of GDP linked with a heavy dependence on imports (more than a third of GDP) and a traditional resistance to governmental intervention in trade matters. There is a dawning recognition that Denmark may have been living beyond its means and that, despite the goodwill of its commercial partners and external investors, a harsh reckoning awaits it unless some creative compromises can be reached and unless entrepreneurial and research and development prowess can be applied to find new outlets for its productive capacity and reserves of human capital.

It is natural that in these changing circumstances the future of education is being seriously considered in Denmark, although most of the discussion has centred less on entrepreneurial and research and development prowess than on the long-term goals of citizens' education in a democracy. We are conscious of dealing with an established, in some ways unique, education system which has been exceptionally well supported financially but which itself is now subject to scrutiny from inside and outside. U-90 was an invitation to debate.

II. U-90 AS AN ORIENTATION

In this chapter the examiners consider the nature and scope of U-90 and the extent to which it provides a comprehensive and convincing orientation to the development of education in Denmark during the next one to two decades. In Chapters III to V we shall then consider the various branches of the education system using U-90 as a framework of reference.

We find U-90 to be a momentous report. Logically structured, attractively presented and lucidly written, it achieves its purpose of being easy to read by the layman as well as the professional. Yet it deals with a very wide range of subjects and many complex issues. Above all we are impressed by the courageous attempt to cover the entire education system and place education in the changing social context.

The key questions to be addressed by the authors of U-90 were, in the words of the Minister of Education at the time:

> What do we want of education? How are we to keep abreast of international developments ...? Is there a reasonable balance ... so that different groups in our community will have their educational requirements met ...? What resources should we earmark for the various educational sectors?*

The expectation was, in 1975, that The Central Council of Education, ** would produce a long-term plan for the entire education system - a plan which would integrate the various education sectors and which would be rolled forward on the basis of continual appraisal. The plan was designated U-90, 'U' being the first letter of the Danish word 'uddanelse', meaning 'education', and '90' signifying that the plan would cover a 15-year time-span through to about 1990.

The CCE was asked to publicize widely the objectives and general orientations of the plan with a view to eliciting reactions from organisations and individuals at large. There was a clear commitment to stimulating a lively public debate, for in Denmark, as in most other OECD Member countries, the education system has recently come under closer public scrutiny as questions are raised about its rising costs and the validity of its aims and the social value of its outcomes.

The task assigned to the CCE was a formidable one, mainly because of the lack of consensus about the present performance and future directions of the education system in the light of its tremendous expansion over the past twenty years or so. Some people to whom we spoke, lay and professional alike, view education as responding to the wider social and political environment: others see it as a powerful device to restructure social and economic relations. Many continue to maintain a thoroughly non-economic perspective, regarding education as the vehicle for conveying and enriching cultural and ethical values. There is divided thinking about whether the recent educational expansion and adaptation were due more to the requirements of the Danish economy than a response to social demand stemming from individuals' aspirations.

The CCE embarked on its task during a period when, as in other OECD countries, there were signs of a change in public attitudes towards education. After two decades, during which it was one of the highest priorities for the allocation of public resources (the percentage of assigned GDP tripling from 2.5 in the mid-1950s to the present figure of 7.5 despite substantial growth in per capita wealth and striking enrolment increases), there is now caution in Denmark about large future commitments to educational investment. This stems from the realization that the education system's relationship to, say, manpower or equality policy goals are complex, and that ill-conceived or poorly conceived educational reforms can have negative social and cultural consequences.

---

* Speech to the Folketing.

** Hereinafter referred to as "CCE".

Such a perspective is formulated in the light of expectations about such matters as the potential limits to resources and the current crisis of structural unemployment.

A stage has been reached when new concepts and new strategies of education have to be developed to cope with these changing orientations. Within such a framework, the imperatives of an exercise in forward-planning become clearer. The guiding principle is to keep options open and lead times long so as to preserve maximum flexibility. Equally important is the need to explicate the ramifications of current decision-making: for example, traditional design of new classrooms will help insure the continuation of traditional classroom practice for decades to come; the way in which young teachers are prepared today will be still having social effects, through the behaviour of some individuals, for at least two generations. Indeed, a review of changes in the educational world over the past twenty years or so throws into relief rapid and often surprising happenings in such areas as student values, community attitudes and pedagogical practice. It could be that persistent disenchantment with current institutionalised educational provisions will lead to the emergence of novel patterns. All this has to be considered in educational planning for the 1990s.

The U-90 mission upon which the Danish Minister of Education launched the CCE in 1975 was a more challenging one than would have been the case ten years ago. An earlier, technical concept of planning - concerned with how to fulfil manpower requirements and to provide efficient education, for example - which conceived education mainly as an economic good has been subsumed under a deeper concern with the qualitative policy processes by which completing values are gathered and forged into practical action to promote development (in all its aspects) through education.

In order to start its work the CCE had to come to grips with the debate about the pros and cons of 'synoptic' (empirical, predictive) versus 'indeterminate' (multivalue, intuitive) planning philosophies. Associated with this is the question of the processes by which planning is achieved: the tension between the technocratic and the participatory. Given the composition of the 24 member CCE - it consists fo 10 people personally appointed by the Minister of Education (including the chairman), the heads of the four sector education councils, and 10 representatives of a range of organisations (including the social partners, teacher and student groups) - it is bound to be more an agency for outlining frameworks than for making detailed proposals for administrative action. The open-ended planning mode that it adopted was therefore predictable.

Over the two and a half-year period of its enquiries and deliberations, as it tackled technical problems such as those relating to demography and perennial qualitative issues such as the formulation of goals, the CCE transformed its concept of U-90 from that of a plan to that of an

orientation for planning. We believe that the resulting report is all the more powerful for this transformation, which, indeed, we advocated in our comments on the initial draft outline of U-90 prepared by the CCE.

The CCE has now produced a set of guidelines for action which are less prescriptive and prophetic and more concerned with prudent forecasting; the pit-falls of 'futurecasting' have been avoided. This may well be a fortuitous benefit of broadly-based participatory planning. When a group is as large and as diverse in its membership as the CCE it is hardly surprising that it should not in the end adopt a particular ideological position. This is not to imply that the members of CCE have abandoned value positions: far from it, as is vividly illustrated by the dialectic between the majority and minority statements in U-90. Indeed, one of the dilemmas faced by the Council, and the reason for several of the most striking minority reservations, was the extent to which U-90 might be more or less useful to those who have ultimately to take decisions by adopting one of the many feasible societal scenarios while nevertheless still trying conscientiously to plan from a fluid present for an unknowable future.

The lessons learned about the planning process in the production of a subsequent debate about U-90 are of first-order importance not only to Denmark but also to other OECD countries. The CCE - and the various authorities and interest groups connected with it - now have a clearer idea of what sort of planning and structures will operate best in the current political and organisational setting. It has been possible to assess the relative worth of various specialist planning instruments of a descriptive, analytic and predictive nature and to learn more about how planning might most effectively promote organisational improvement through the use of dialectic methods, through enhanced participation, and not by striving for an artificial consistency or coherence.

What CCE has produced then, is a framework - both in substance and procedure - for specific future planning. U-90 contains most of the components necessary for the construction of a series of co-ordinated nation-wide rolling plans. Its significance lies in its authentic long-term perspective, with a range of likely needs and feasible responses spelled out in a pragmatic way. Directions rather than terminal goals are indicated, and these are accompanied by the admonition not to allow too much time to pass before the next bearing is taken.

The attention given to all the elements of the education system and the demonstration of the manifest and latent linkages among them are other notable attributes of U-90. Despite fashionable talk in bureaucratic and academic circles about the importance of intersectoralism, governments are generally unenthusiastic about proposals for comprehensive and integrated planning because they severely restrict the room for political manœuvre. U-90 uses the concept of 'four lives of the

individual' to reveal the need for a specific type of education at each life-cycle stage but with a cohesion across them all. However, the ramifications for pedagogical practice of this concept are insufficiently brought out to test its robustness. There are however definite proposals for strengthening continuity and access to educational experiences from early childhood right through to adulthood.

One of the most significant proposals is that to provide education or training up to the equivalent of twelve years for all young people. This is in keeping with current thinking in a number of OECD countries about the need to care for the young not only while they are undertaking basic education but until they have acquired the formal competences and had the opportunity to obtain a suitable job if they so desire. Making upper-secondary education universal - even if on a part-time basis only for many - is also the starting point for a viable scheme of lifelong education, for the longer people experience the rewards of education, the more they will be inclined to take advantage of further educational opportunities throughout their adult lives.

In what directions does U-90 point in developing a perspective on current policy issues? For a publicly-sponsored report U-90 is unusually frank and creative in expounding views on desirable aims for Danish education. It does this through an examination of the contribution of education to the four 'lives': family, leisure, work and community. The central message is that education should become closer to the reality of each of these lives.

In calling for the further opening-up and broadening-out of education in the names of equity and relevance and in making efforts to link proposals for development and modification of these aims, U-90 becomes one of those rare planning documents where both ends and means, and the presumed connection between them, can be scrutinised. In so doing, it leaves one with the rather empty feeling that the formal, institutionalised education system with which the CCE is concerned is relatively powerless in contrast to the leverage that can be brought to bear on the four lives by non-formal and informal education. Given the power of influence of these types of education, and the ensuing implications for the regular system, we believe that in the future more attention could be given to blending non-formal and informal modes with traditional modes of education.

In spite of its clear recognition of the implications for education of such current social and economic problems as labour market restructuring and youth unemployment, U-90 maintains both that education's perennial goals must be upheld and that it should not be overly sensitive to short-term economic fluctuations. It rejects an instrumental view of education.

U-90 is avowedly egalitarian in its approach and tone. Indeed, a minority of the CCE argues that it takes the notion of equality too far for practical policy purposes. It assumes access to educational provision and equality of basic outcomes to be top priority goals. It promotes a strategy for greater equality by eradicating the disadvantages inherent in particular social groups. It expresses special concern for school-leavers without negotiable qualifications (the 'residual' group), those who live in geographically isolated areas, the considerable number of adults who have received inadequate schooling (defined as seven years or less of initial education), and the handicapped.

On ways and means of overcoming disadvantage, however, U-90 is less than explicit. In advocating special efforts on behalf of handicapped persons and of adults with little formal education, it is nevertheless anxious to ensure that everyone should be permitted to develop to his or her full potential and to attain this end specifically urges the expansion of educational services at all levels. This dilemma is not unexpected. Inequalities are not as obvious in Denmark as in some other OECD countries because of the essential homogeneity of the country, and those groups identified as relatively disadvantaged do not seem to voice loudly their sense of grievance. Nevertheless, for U-90's expressed concern to reduce the sort of educational disparity reflected in Figure 1 below to be transformed into realistic and acceptable policies and practices, it will almost certainly be necessary to adopt a more interventionist and, paradoxically, differentiated approach.

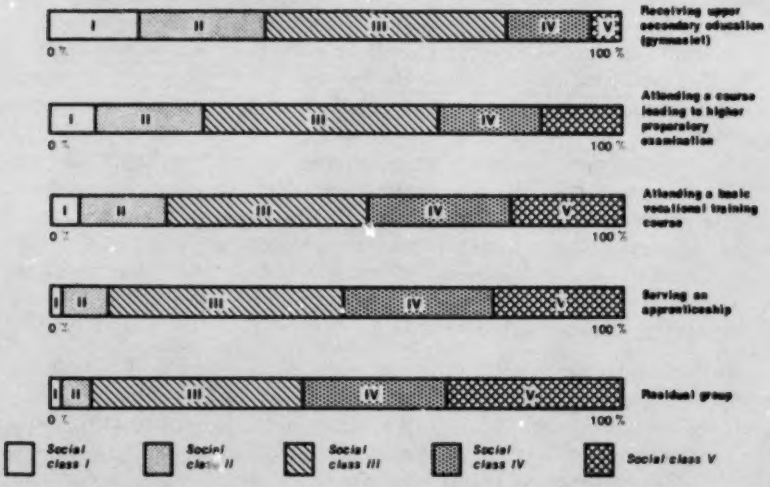
As far as resource allocation and usage is concerned, it is noteworthy that apparently no group concerned in the preparation of U-90 submitted a formal case for overall educational expenditure to be curtailed. (For a breakdown of current educational expenditures see Table 1.) Indeed, U-90 advocates a relative increase for education as a whole for the period in question: "... the share of GDP spent on educational purposes will increase from the present 7 per cent to upwards of 8 per cent in 1990. We do not consider this to be any prohibitive increase". * The report goes on to endorse a possible cut-back in some other public sector expenditures if the size of the proportion of the nation's wealth to be devoted to public goods and services is not to grow too fast. The reason given is that Denmark's place in a world economic order in the grip of major structural change depends on harnessing the knowledge, skills and attitudes of its people through high quality education. All this must be interpreted in the light of the evidence that expenditure on education in Denmark expanded at a greater rate than the GDP through the 1960s and early 1970s when this percentage stabilised as among the highest in OECD countries giving Denmark educational resources, both recurrent and capital, which are equal to any in the OECD world. Despite this high level of expenditure we did not detect any serious

---

* U-90, p. 201 (English edition).

Figure 1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY SOCIAL CLASS OF PARENTS OF YOUNG PEOPLE RECEIVING VARIOUS FORMS OF EDUCATION (EARLY 1970s)



The social classes can be summarised as follows :

I. Self-employed in non-agricultural enterprises with 21 or more subordinate staff, holders of university level qualifications, owners of landed estates, salaried employees with 51 or more subordinate staff.

II. Self-employed in non-agricultural enterprises with 6-20 subordinate staff, owners of large farms, salaried employees with 11-50 subordinate staff, salaried employees with theoretical non-university level education of long duration.

III. Self-employed in non-agricultural enterprises with 0-5 subordinate staff, owners of medium-sized farms, salaried employees with 1-10 subordinate staff.

IV. Smallholders, salaried employees having no subordinate staff and performing work not requiring expertise, skilled manual workers.

V. Unskilled and semi-skilled manual workers.

Source : Merete Platz, Inge Maerkedahl and Erik Jørgen Hansen : Paper No. 8 of the Danish National Institute of Social Research, 1975.

Table 1. OPERATIONAL EXPENDITURE PER PUPIL, PER YEAR AND OVER TIME, FOR SELECTED COURSES (1975-1976)

	PER PUPIL OPERATIONAL EXPENDITURE	
	PER YEAR	TOTAL
Nursery classes	3,700	3,700
Compulsory school	8,800	88,000
Upper secondary school	17,000	53,000
Basic vocational training:		
Machinery and metal-working industries, basic year	26,000	54,000
Machinery and metal-working industries, 2nd part	7,000	
Office, basic year	14,000	28,000
Office, 2nd part	1,300	
Continuation schools	28,000	
Agricultural colleges	31,000	
Humanities, University of Copenhagen	11,000	190,000
Natural science, University of Copenhagen	45,000	510,000
Danish Academy of Engineers ...	43,000	215,000
Dentist	78,000	470,000
Doctor, including clinical training	48,000	400,000
Primary school teacher	20,000	87,000

SOURCE: U-90, p. 31 (English edition).

public questioning of its effectiveness or echoes of allegations about 'falling standards' or demands for 'returning to basics' that many other countries are experiencing.

We would make one final remark about U-90 as an orientation to the study of an education system which is in a state of flux. Over the

past twenty years there have been several waves of reform - the latest one began about four years ago - coupled with a striking increase in social demand. Descriptions of the structure and operation of the system have become obsolescent almost as soon as they are published. After so much rapid and fundamental rethinking, it might be that, besides proposing yet more reconstruction to prepare for U-90, there is a case for an antishock prescription to steady the component parts of the system sufficiently to enable them to take stock of where they are, particularly in relation to one another. Granted that there has to be a critical minimum rate of change for momentum to occur, perhaps a surfeit of it (particularly of the 'top-down' variety) may lead to reforms having only a superficial effect. In other words, apparent rather than real change may be a consequence of too much happening too quickly.

This, then is our interpretation of the framework within which we were to take a close look at the various cycles of the Danish education system. Our impressions form the substance of the following three chapters.

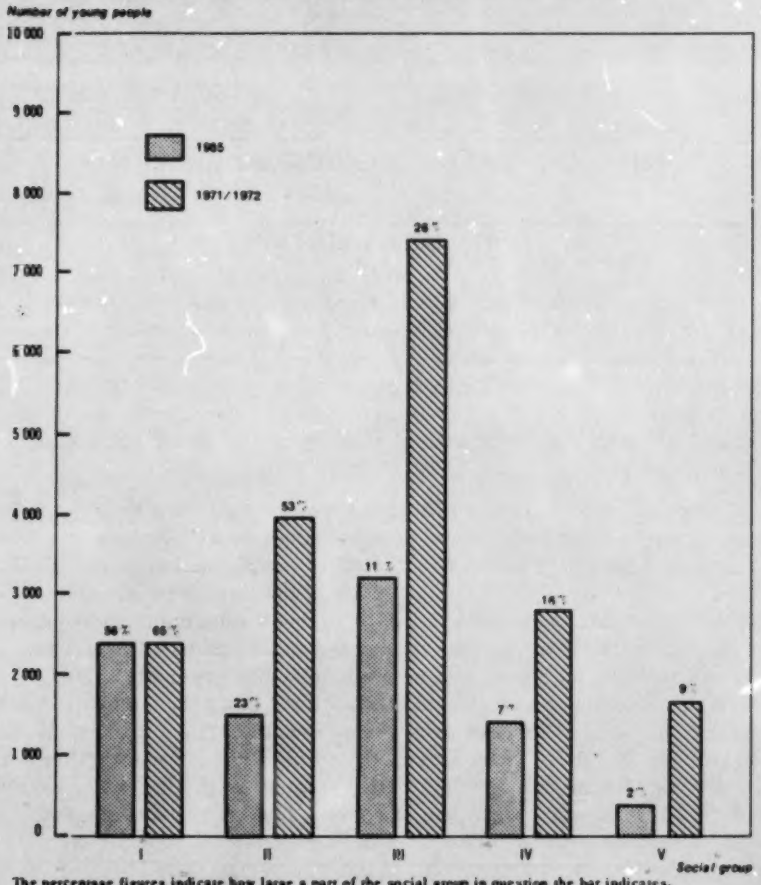
III. BASIC EDUCATION

Over recent years much attention has been devoted in Denmark to that 'core' period of schooling whose prime aim is to prepare young people for effective participation in adult life. This concern is in no small measure due to a recognition of the importance of developing a capacity in young people to adapt to continually evolving patterns of living and working while still maintaining a personal sense of purpose and humaneness.

This phase of education - spanning the period of compulsory schooling and the institutionalised optional educational offerings which lead up to and from it - has been affected by those changes in demography, modes of production and attitudes of the Danish people described in Chapter I. Future orientation is being increasingly directed towards fostering adaptability in responding successfully to uncertain and fluid situations at work, at home, and in community life generally. This must be seen against a background of structural and process modifications to basic education in Denmark over recent years that have grown out of an awareness that these years at school are significant for stratification purposes, insofar as they are the formal means for sorting young people into different employment and social roles. Such an awareness gave rise to reforms designed to give access to a variety of educational opportunities for a wider spectrum of the school-age population. All the major political parties are committed to the goal of equality of educational opportunity and there has been considerable concern over the past decade to reduce educational disparities. However, the problem of distributing education equitably across social groups has proved as difficult in Denmark (see Figure 2) as in most other countries. As an illustration, although the participation rates in upper secondary education have risen markedly over recent years - for example, the percentage of each age cohort graduating from the cycle has risen from 5 per cent in 1950 to 25 today - the actual number of young people who can rely only on their school education as a job credential is still little more than 20 per cent, especially when it is recognised that the school-age population has expanded by that proportion over the past decade.

Figure 2

NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL PUPILS ACCORDING TO SOCIAL GROUP, 1965 AND 1971/1972



The percentage figures indicate how large a part of the social group in question the bar indicates.

Source : U-90, p. 64 (English edition).

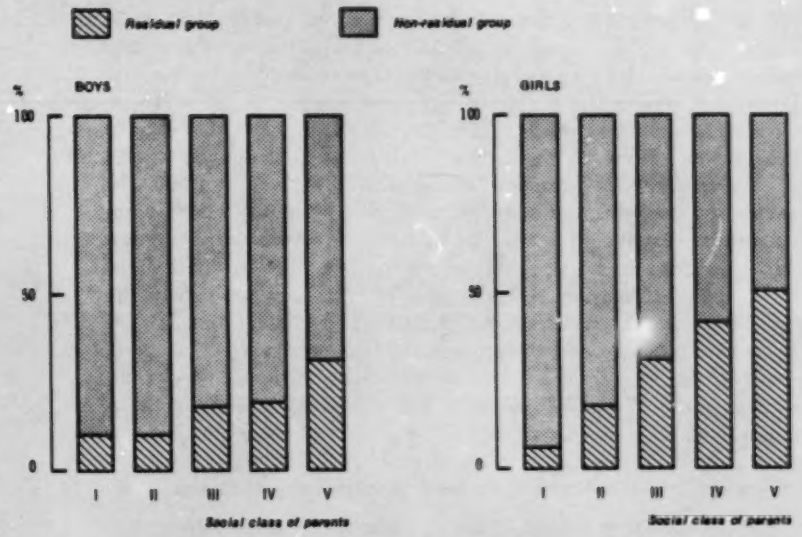
This group comes overwhelmingly from the lower end of the socio-economic scale, and is preponderantly female, as is shown in Figure 3.

In this context, the U-90 prospectus for basic education is to:

- bring the school closer to the realities of the wider society;
- make the school community more aware of its socialising function, thereby promoting equality-oriented thinking;
- ensure that the practical and creative aspects of the curriculum share parity of esteem with the traditional cognitive aspects.

Figure 3

PERCENTAGE OF 16-19 YEAR-OLDS IN THE RESIDUAL GROUP IN 1973, BY SOCIAL CLASS AND BY SEX



Source : Bente Ørum : Paper No. 13 of the Danish National Institute of Social Research, 1975.

We noted some spirited controversy about this prospectus - for example, whether it is based too much on the ethics of individual satisfaction and social success or whether notions of equality are being pushed to the detriment of acceptable levels of proficiency and competence. By and large, however, it seems to us that, as in many countries, public concern about these matters is expressed indirectly through debate not about ends but about ways and means such as the efficacy of mixed ability grouping or what elements the curriculum should be composed of.

In Denmark, education is compulsory for children in the age range of 7 to 16 years, and this education is provided in sequential units in a common school. Children join the first form of school after a home-life sometimes supplemented by nurseries, kindergartens and pre-schools. At the 9th and 10th form students decide whether to pursue further studies or to enter the world of work.

EARLY EDUCATION

A few kindergartens came into existence just after the turn of the century. After 1960, however, provision for children of less than the minimum compulsory school age (7 years) expanded at such a rate that today 85 per cent of the six-year-old age cohort is in pre-primary school and the participation rate is increasing steadily. The stated purpose of institutional services in Denmark catering for the needs of children too young to enter the primary level of the folkeskole is to supplement experiences gained in the home by providing a caring and learning environment structured according to age. Day nurseries, kindergartens, and pre-school classes co-exist with separate lines of control and accountability. The prevailing system of collaborative public and private financing of early childhood services has the potential to encourage a blending of parental and professional needs and aspirations, and also to act as a monitor on both the supply of and the demand for such services. We look forward to the recommendations of the newly established Children's Commission on ways and means of improving such services, on fostering the continuation of variety in them while having regard to questions of equity and efficiency of provision.

U-90 does not recommend the expansion of early education as a deliberate policy. It takes as given the trend for parents to want their children to attend school at least one year before the present compulsory period begins. While suggesting a general start to formal education at the age of 6 years in the 1980s , the CCE does not make a strong case for the virtues of earlier education. In many other OECD countries the mode is to wind back the age of entry to institutionalised schooling even further, to four or even three years. The principle for such moves is, predictably, that of equality of opportunity. If children of all social backgrounds begin their formal learning activities at the age of six years, then the 'headstart' deemed necessary for the children of the least privileged groups in society will be lost. Yet in Denmark there is an emphasis on the rights of parents to determine how their children shall be educated.

The fact that the CCE is not swayed by the arguments in support of structured learning experiences from a younger age is perhaps due to the unusually strongly-held belief in Denmark that there should be an active parental role in children's education, especially during their formative years. Nor is there great concern for more equality. Little attention has been paid to the argument that the earlier children from disadvantaged families start to learn with other children the better are their chances of subsequently profiting from the primary school.

More thought should be given to the resolution of the current political-pedagogical issue about whether it ought to be a statutory duty of local education authorities to offer pre-school programmes, and whether the start of compulsory education should be brought forward.

In view of the limited nature and amount of educational research on this question originating in Denmark itself, and the narrow range of policy issues and options so far considered, we doubt the wisdom of adopting one standard approach in short-range policy.

The Danish authorities might choose to encourage consumer sovereignty in this area and so facilitate choice by tendering advice on alternative modes of provision and by operating an equitable scheme of financial cost subsidies. It is not our opinion that the uneven starting points among beginners in primary school could not or should not be offset in the early years of the folkeskole, given the volume and quality of resources available and the potential discretion to allocate resources differentially according to need.

THE PRIMARY CYCLE (COMPULSORY SCHOOLING)

The Danish folkeskole is equivalent to the elementary and junior secondary (i.e. compulsory) school in most OECD countries. Seven years of schooling was made compulsory for all children as far back as the early nineteenth century. During the 1960s social demand for more schooling increased, so that when, in the early seventies, schooling was made mandatory for a period of nine years, this was merely legislative affirmation of a de facto situation. Recently, a need to move towards twelve years of compulsory education for all has been expressed by some student groups and a couple of the smaller left-wing political parties; this is a minority view, most interested organisations and individuals being advocates of restructured education and training experiences for 16-to-19-year-olds. The folkeskole already provides a 10th grade and consideration is being given to offering the equivalent of 11th and 12th grade programmes attuned to the needs of those who desire them (see Chapter IV).

The most striking development in the folkeskole sector over recent years has been the progressive deferment of selection and streaming into differential ability and aptitude groupings and in many schools their

virtual abandonment. Annual examinations have largely ceased with a view to assisting each pupil to progress in his or her own best speed in accordance with interest and capacity. Thus, all pupils now progress automatically from grade to grade. For similar reasons, the curriculum has been broadened considerably. The former segregation of grades 8 to 10 - a preparatory division for the final public examination (the 'realeksamen') and a general division for the non-academically inclined - has been abolished. However, students may still opt for either of two levels of study in the final years, one of which is in preparation for the gymnasium. This is a truly flexible option with parental preference (after due counselling by school staff) being the final arbiter. Also, individual school districts may decide not to divide classes at all.

THE SECOND CYCLE

On completion of the 9 or 10 year primary cycle young people may continue their study or training in a variety of branches of the next cycle. If they are interested in ultimately entering a university, a teacher training institution, or a business or commercial college, they may proceed to a gymnasium or follow what is known as a higher preparatory course (HF); they may commence basic vocational training (EFG) or join the apprenticeship scheme; or they may participate in some form of further education - evening classes, continuation school, or folk high school if they are 18 years of age or older. While our comments on these alternatives are reserved for the next chapter, it is appropriate to mention here the gymnasium as part of basic education because many young people report that they perceive the transition to this branch of the second cycle as particularly stressful. We suggest that in Denmark there is some lack of fit between what the compulsory period provides (some 85 per cent of age cohorts currently proceed to the 10th year) and what is expected of the increasing proportion (now about one third) who proceed to the gymnasium. Indeed the enormously increased proportion of young people seeking more education after the folkeskole tends to favour gymnasium studies. Consequently the proportion, if not the absolute number, of all young people who want a form of study aimed at direct preparation for jobs in trade and industry is decreasing. This trend is controversial to the extent that some critics argue that the advantage of an extended general education geared to opening up options is more than offset by the additional time taken to arrive at decisions about future careers.

At entry to the gymnasium, the syllabus of which and mode of organisation are laid down by the Ministry, students choose between two strands of study - 'science' and 'modern'. In the first year most subjects are common to the two strands. After a year the two strands are further split into sub-groupings. While the curriculum is broad by international standards, the units selected from it become increasingly

specialised. Gymnasium education finishes with the written and oral 'studenterexamen'. This is the main vehicle for entry to university.

Until a few years ago the gymnasium was the only means for continuing higher education after the folkeskole. Another scheme has been in operation since 1967 and is normally attached to a gymnasium. The credentialling device for this course is called the higher preparatory examination (HF) for which candidates must attain the age of 18 years before they present themselves. While gymnasium education is of 3 years duration, HF lasts for only 2 years. HF subject coverage is basically the same as that of the gymnasium. Although there are no strands in HF a distinction is nevertheless made between core subject and optional subjects.

At the upper secondary level, then, Denmark faces a classic set of issues. The gymnasium now takes in a much larger and more heterogeneous section of the post-primary level age group as both community expectations and parental aspirations spiral upwards. It is therefore highly problematic whether a curriculum fundamentally designed for university matriculation continues to be suitable for all the students who now wish to study in the gymnasium. Questions arise about the kind of curriculum that will best suit all needs, the best arrangements for providing young people with qualifications having currency value, the extent to which the education system contributes to broader patterns of living and working, and what all this means for the first cycle of education and for the relationship between the folkeskole and the gymnasium. These questions are taken up in the next chapter.

All this being said, our overall impression of the provision of basic education in Denmark is highly favourable. From pre-school classes through to year 12, despite differences of emphasis in the curriculum, in teaching styles, in the design of physical plant and in the nature of the school community, there is a pervading sense of quality combined with a commitment to steady improvement within the general guidelines of progressive reform laid down by the Folketing through instruments such as the 1969 '9 points' programme and the 1975 Primary and Lower Secondary Education Act.

There are, however, three matters about which we would like to make particular comment because of their pertinence for school systems everywhere. The first concerns educational disparity across different groups. The second and related matter has to do with special education. And the third involves consideration of community participation in the governance of schooling.

EDUCATIONAL DISPARITY

It became clear to us from moving around the schools and examining available data that the educational careers of Danish youth display a familiar pattern: the higher the social standing of students, the more likely they are to proceed to further formal education and ultimately to obtain the benefits flowing therefrom such as access to a wider range of jobs (see Table 2). In this connection we are conscious of cross-national research which shows that even when children of different social backgrounds undergo fairly similar educational experiences, disparities in educational performance parallel status hierarchy rankings in a remarkable faithful way.

Thus, while across-the-board increases in general resources to schools may improve the average quality of basic education, they will not of themselves reduce the disparities in opportunity represented by differences in student performance and differences in access to further study. However, a selective disbursement of extra resources to needy schools and perhaps their surrounding communities might be an answer to the question of how to reduce unjustifiable disparities. While aware of the limitations of such an approach, as some well-known research indicates, we nevertheless believe that particular attention should be given to rationales and strategies for disbursing educational resources unequally across schools, both within and among municipalities.

In Denmark, as in all countries, certain forms of discrimination such as giving more educational resources to some than to others on the grounds of maximising individual development have traditionally sanctioned differential educational expenditures across individuals and groups. Other forms are regarded as fair (for example, more educational resources for the handicapped) while still others are thought to be undesirable (for example, fewer educational resources to the early school leaver) but are accepted nonetheless because of the apparent lack of means to improve them. This very incapacity can thus become a rationale (or rationalisation) for accepting inequitably distributed resources.

Over the past decade the political will in a number of OECD countries to reduce group disparities in and to give individuals an appropriate share of educational benefits has led to the legitimation of more differentiated financial allocations on the grounds of equity. In this way, both 'compensatory' (to help some groups 'move up') and 'pursuit-of-excellence' (to help some individuals 'get ahead' as far as they can) rationales are now used to disburse resources unequally.

Points to be considered in relation to disbursing resources differentially would include:

a) the values underlying various sorts of positive discrimination;

Table 2. DISTRIBUTION OF THE DANISH WORKFORCE BY EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION, 1970
(20-49-year-olds)

	ALL OCCUPATIONS	AGRICULTURE, FISHING, ETC.	MANUFACTURING ETC.	CONSTRUCTION ETC.	COMMERCE	TRANSPORT	GOVERNMENT AI BUSINESS SERVIC RECREATION AN PERSONAL SERVIC
Men							
No education/training or not stated .	45	87	42	43	30	63	24
Vocational training or the like	44	12	51	53	63	30	37
Higher education of short or medium length	6	1	4	2	5	6	18
Higher education of long duration ..	5	1	3	2	2	1	21
	100	101	100	100	100	100	100
Women							
No education/training or not stated .	51	90	72	40	38	54	41
Vocational training or the like	42	9	26	58	61	44	45
Higher education of short or medium length	6	1	2	1	2	2	11
Higher education of long duration ..	1	1	0	0	0	0	3
	100	101	100	99	101	100	100

SOURCE: Arbejdsmarkedsprognoseudvalget for langvarigt uddannede: Uddannelse, arbejdsmarked og indkomst, bilag 2. Undervisningsministeriet, Copenhagen, 1977.

b) the extent to which the differential treatment of needy groups is compatible with the goals of basic education; that is, the implications for general schooling of making additional provisions for particular types of children and youth;
c) the practical ramifications of various rationales (e.g. legal, psychological, medical, educational, social, political) for justifying particular kinds of special provisions and priorities;
d) the significance of modes of financing (e.g. supplemented block grants to schools, categorical aid programmes, tax credits to parents, flexible budgets at the institutional level) for helping to share resources more equitably;
e) the case for generating new resources to meet special needs as opposed to re-distributing existing finances in favour of needy groups: if the availability of overall resources remains static or even diminishes, then a redistribution may have to be effected either among target groups or public services sectors.

Such a policy thrust could complement the far-reaching structural reforms of the past decade and would lend support to current moves to upgrade professional staff development activities, so that school personnel might be better equipped to help the common school fulfil its essential role of raising as many students as possible to a plateau of basic competence.

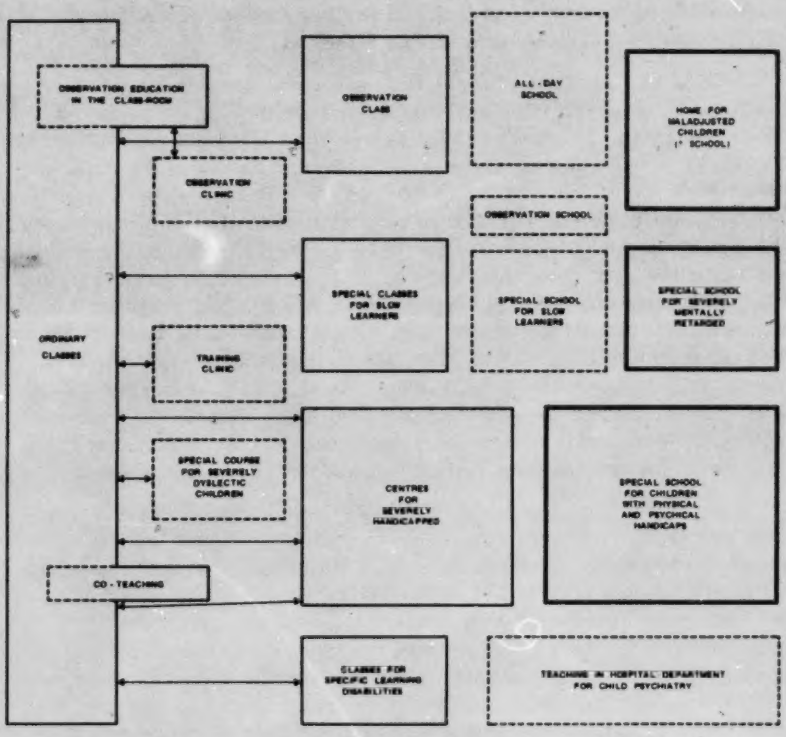
SPECIAL EDUCATION

We would be remiss in not paying particular attention to Denmark's special education services for they offer a model of commitment to, and concern and respect for, 'children whose development requires special consideration or support' (Primary and Lower Secondary School Act, 1975). As shown in Figure 4, the services range from special schools, units and centres through to special classes in ordinary schools, where children in need of full or part-time extra assistance are provided for, to peripatetic diagnostic and support services, and include services to hospitalised children.

As in any country, it is difficult to compose an accurate picture of the dimensions of special educational need in Denmark or of the extent to which this need is being met. This is because of unique patterns of provision, particular ways of classifying needy cases, and the labelling of services as either special or regular. As in any country, decisions about which children benefit from special educational treatment change over time and with different social, economic and even political circumstances. These same circumstances also influence the perspective taken on what special provisions such children require for their education. At present, some 2 per cent of pupils in the compulsory phase

Figure 4

FACILITIES FOR SPECIAL EDUCATION IN DENMARK


OBSERVATION EDUCATION IN THE CLASS-ROOM
OBSERVATION CLASS
ALL - DAY SCHOOL
HOME FOR MALADJUSTED CHILDREN (+ SCHOOL)
OBSERVATION CLINIC
OBSERVATION SCHOOL
SPECIAL CLASSES FOR SLOW LEARNERS
SPECIAL SCHOOL FOR SLOW LEARNERS
SPECIAL SCHOOL FOR SEVERELY MENTALLY RETARDED
ORDINARY CLASSES
TRAINING CLINIC
SPECIAL COURSE FOR SEVERELY DYSLECTIC CHILDREN
CENTRES FOR SEVERELY HANDICAPPED
SPECIAL SCHOOL FOR CHILDREN WITH PHYSICAL AND PSYCHICAL HANDICAPS
CO - TEACHING
CLASSES FOR SPECIFIC LEARNING DISABILITIES
TEACHING IN HOSPITAL DEPARTMENT FOR CHILD PSYCHIATRY

Source : K. Hjorth, « Financing, Organisation and Governance of Education for Special Populations in Denmark » (unpublished OECD paper, December 1978).

of schooling are in special classes, and about another 12.5 per cent are receiving additional assistance to supplement their regular classroom experiences.

Our strong impression is that no resources are spared in making special education as richly endowed as practicable within approved policy guidelines. Pupil-teacher ratios of 3:1 are not uncommon. The differing levels and types of services across municipalities and counties seem rather to reflect the variety of professional views about just who should be assisted and the most appropriate form of that assistance than the differences in willingness of communities to recognise need and pay for whatever is required. These two issues - identification and provision - were the focus of our attention.

We fully endorse the general rule governing special education within the Danish education system that it should be provided in the least segregated and least restricting environment conducive both to the making of effective provision and to the acceptance of the child in the larger society. But whatever the general educational policy, a need to identify individual children requiring special attention persists. Although it is often undesirable for the individual himself or herself to be so labelled, and even though the process of identification consumes valuable resources, it is nonetheless essential for policy and practical purposes, not to mention for the rights of the individual, that some account be kept of how individuals are actually faring in the education system and of who needs special help. Equally, it is important to keep in the public mind the issues associated with the criteria for and the process of identification, and its consequences (both intended and unintended) for the individual, the group and the education system.

The point at which particular needs are best met by special placement rather than by extra assistance in ordinary classrooms is, of course, arbitrary - especially where, for example, 'specific learning difficulties' shade into 'mild intellectual retardation'. Blunt, 'all-or-none' classification schemes can too easily lead to stereotyped expectation on the part of child, parent and teacher, and to mechanised teaching-learning programmes. Also, too sharp a cleavage can hinder the spread of the best teaching practices from special to ordinary classes. In Denmark, the teachers' council of each folkeskole identifies children for special education 'on the basis of a school psychological examination after consultation with the pupil and his parents'.* An appeal against the decisions of the council can be taken to the school board.

The conversations we had with the people concerned with matters of identification and labelling left us with a profound impression of their pedagogical wisdom. We wonder, however, whether, at the general policy level, sufficient attention is being given to several points which should be considered in relation to this important issue:

---

* Primary and Lower Secondary School Act, S.II(2), 1975.

a) the extent to which identification is a specialised and discrete task from treatment and how far the criteria used for diagnosis and the labels used for purposes of treatment (e.g. the term 'mildly mentally retarded') can become dysfunctional social definitions;
b) the effect on the traditional organisation of schools if all children are recognised as having special needs and many as meriting special treatment: the need for new kinds of resource configurations to ensure that policy changes are accompanied by changes in practice;
c) the implications for resource allocation of the debate about broad (e.g. 'slow learners'; 'socially disadvantaged') versus narrow ('dyslexic'; 'aphasic') definitions of what is special: the pedagogical consequences of overlapping membership of certain special populations.

Marshalling the most appropriate special educational measures is the other key policy issue to which we draw attention. Not only are the means of achieving this frequently beyond the legislative scope and control of Ministries of Education but changes in thinking over time require inter-institutional and inter-sectoral adjustments and even new attitudes on the part of those involved. Thus the issue of shared responsibility for a particular provision between, say, the Education and the Health or Social Welfare portfolios or between the public and private sectors, and the problem of constructing feasible financial and organisational instruments, require further thought. This is especially so since many inter-sectoral co-ordination schemes fail because they are initially under-powered and under-financed, it being generally assumed that the same resources can be utilised more effectively in a different manner from the outset, without interim supplementary assistance.

One further requirement in all these special education considerations is that of an appropriately skilled and structured educational workforce. The increasing demand placed upon teachers and support staff to be more responsive to different needs of students implies a level of competence and inter-occupational co-operation which exists more in theory than in practice in most countries. Particularly now, in a period of non-growth when relatively few new staff are being employed, the redeployment of the established staff calls for more intensive in-service professional development activity.

Despite the first-rate work going on in Denmark in special education we believe, nevertheless, that U-90 accords too light treatment to issues of special education and that there is a tendency for advice to the Minister to come predominantly from the professionals - in particular psychology and medicine. Serious consideration should perhaps be given to the establishment of a formal advisory machinery to help specify and motivate further improvements in services for children with special

needs. This is especially relevant in the light of our remarks above and because from the beginning of 1980 current arrangements for the care of the handicapped will be dissolved, with some functions becoming the province of the social security administration while education services will become the responsibility of local school authorities. Such advisory machinery must be open to a wide spectrum of views and hence should tap the resources of parents, officials of both governmental and voluntary agencies, teachers and other professionals, and the public at large. It should fit into a broader advisory framework in a way that allows its specialist work to be fully appreciated while nevertheless being tempered by economic reality. Perhaps the CCE could suggest the status, composition and function of such a vehicle, including its possible relationship to the CCE itself. Three immediate references could be:

a) alternative ways of conceptualising special assistance (e.g. focusing on type of handicap versus type of provision) for policy and administrative purposes, especially as they facilitate the 'mainstreaming' of as many pupils as practicable;
b) means of more effectively sharing responsibility for special provision, in particular the strengthening of linkages among the three tiers of government and among various sectors and agencies (both public and private);
c) the preparation and certification of the educational workforce to cope with special provision especially with the use of financial and organisational incentives for in-service development.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

The right and, indeed, the responsibilities of parents, students and the community generally to explore different kinds of educational structures and processes is a cherished Danish tradition traceable, in the popular mind at least, to Grundtvig, the vigorous 19th century critic of compulsory, government-operated schooling in Denmark who encouraged the development of alternatives. The non-government sector of schooling today encompasses a variety of educational preferences and social ideologies and is not, as in many OECD countries, dominated by one or two religious groups.

The idea of parental rights has long embraced the notion of very substantial state support (currently, 85 per cent of running costs as a general rule) for those who prefer other pedagogical structures and methods to those provided in the public schools. Perhaps the very homogeneity of Danish society permits the practice of state subvention of minimally monitored non-government schools to command widespread political support. Even a recent official analysis of the financing of

private schools focused on questions of equity and economy, rather than trespassing on the traditional grounds of freedom and autonomy. *

So we find in Denmark not only a government school system legally bound to the idea of parent participation in schools and of partnership among parents, teachers and pupils, but, running alongside it, a publicly aided alternative sector of some 100 schools where programmes develop with little involvement by the State. These experiments and initiatives do not seem to be threatening either the state education bureaucracy or the teacher organisations. We wonder why they are seen as welcome, as inevitable or as sufficiently contained outside the public system so as not to be a source of contention.

We were impressed by the examples shown to us in Jutland of the so-called 'free school' movement - the Tvind Schools (currently the best known of these institutions in Denmark) and the Abaek Continuation School. Various interpretations of progressive education underpin the daily operations of these schools: the maintenance and development of the school community often being the essence of the learning process within the institutions. This type of school, which is often but by no means always co-operatively structured to promote the notions of 'learning by doing' and 'learning as living', is clearly popular with those children, parents and teachers who form the various school communities. The backgrounds to the establishment of these schools are many and varied - from simple dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood public school, to the attraction of some school of educational thought, to the persuasiveness of a particularly charismatic local figure. Given that an involvement with schools of this type requires cash, commitment, and a willingness to take a risk, we venture to suggest that at this stage many of their patrons are middle-class families of somewhat radical ideological persuasion. The schools are held up as showpieces of pedagogical liberalism in the Danish system. Incidentally, however, we did hear mention of a counter-movement of conservative, 'back to basics' institutions being in the offing. We wonder to what extent the free schools influence the great majority of government schools - the folkeskole and the gymnasium. In other words what is their 'lighthouse' effect? Also, are there lessons to be learnt from other countries of different political and cultural traditions for the structuring and governance of their schools?

The resolution of issues about what happens in schools and who should make decisions does not lie in individual institutions setting themselves against system policy (whether municipal, county or national) or in parents and professionals resisting each other: it lies in mutually supportive action. We are aware of the sentiment, strongly held by many people in the field, that changes in the machinery of government

---

* "The Financing of Private Schools in Denmark", Ministry of Education, 1977.

and in pedagogical policy and practice over the past decade are promoting a steady drift in the control of basic education from individual lay communities into the hands of pedagogues and bureaucrats. Our observations cause us to question whether this is really so, for our perspective is one of in-school decisions being complemented by outside support. The tradition of locating maximum decision-making power at the individual school level rather than at superordinate ones such as the municipality or the county is in keeping with our belief about a sense of direct responsibility being a spur to performance and about good pedagogical practice being based on first-hand experience. Because the student body of each school is to some extent unique even in a country as homogeneous as Denmark, there does seem to be scope for each school to adapt its programme to the particular community it serves, through direct contact with the people and circumstances promoting the differences. Nevertheless, a commitment is maintained to common schooling. The continuing widespread support for and adherence to the idea of a 'core curriculum' aimed at enhancing skills, expanding understandings, and so broadening options is salutary.

The active involvement of parents and indeed of the general public at all levels of decision-making is a vital component of this process. If the mandated role of the lay community in the running of the folkeskole is to flourish through boards of individual schools and committees of municipal and county councils, and through the Folketing, the kinds of communication which encourage parents and professional educators to really help one another constructively as partners must be developed. There must be joint thinking about working through the practical ramifications of what is best for students and hence about the articulation of systemwide objectives. For, paradoxically, in a system where parental and local community influence is accepted as being significant, * the teaching profession has an unusual degree of discretion compared with that in many OECD countries.

As Danish teachers become more formally professionalised and more industrially organised it is natural for them to want to exert their individual and collective influence, and to seek to minimise external control either by the local lay community or by more remote system administrators and specialists. In the light of enrolment declines the traditional performance incentives in the until-recently rapidly expanding folkeskole sub-system will have to be replaced by new sources of professional satisfaction if teacher commitment and co-operation is to be maintained at its present high level. One such source could be greater

---

* This was summed up in a memorable comment to us by one member of the Folketing who said "Teachers help my children in all sorts of ways but in response to me as a parent, not by their acting as agent of the State ..." Parents have a clear majority in folkeskole boards with, on average, five members compared with one representative of the teachers and one of the students and with the principal acting as chairman.

permeability between jobs in schools and in community services, in keeping with the additional roles and functions being loaded onto schools. A second could lie in a closer knitting of the various sub-systems and education (e.g. early education, compulsory schooling and technical training) so that career horizons of the profession might be expanded.

An outcome of increased interaction along these lines could be a greater variety and hence choice within and among government schools in terms of learning climate and pedagogical orientation. This could be particularly attractive to pupils, parents and teachers alike since the ideological pluralism of Danish society extends to quite disparate views about child-raising and educational methods and objectives.

Of course, even where folkeskole boards are said to be in full control and in a harmonious relationship with their staffs, the very notion of public responsibility and accountability requires a nation-wide, and even an international, perspective. Broad goals and even curriculum patterns must remain common across the municipal and county systems if there is to be increasing mobility and ease of access within national borders, and if Denmark is to continue to be in a position to negotiate forcefully in the international marketplace. What is capable of being expanded is the flexible use of a general framework at the school level in response to local circumstances.

We sum up our observations on the basic education scene in Denmark by noting that there are no serious rumblings, as in many countries today, to the effect that the quality of the education provided is inadequate or that the great shift to mass education since the early 1960s has led to a decline in standards. This is not to be ascribed to lack of concern or of understanding, except perhaps in the case of the severely circumscribed life chances of those 20 per cent of young people who leave school without a badge of achievement. Indeed there is vigorous discussion in student circles about the need for teachers to teach and for educational credentials to have a market value with employers. And parent organisations are not entirely convinced that the changes referred to (pp. 29-30) above are all in the direction of reform. Nevertheless, the general belief that education can and does make a difference, that it has the power to uplift both individual and society, has no doubt resulted in the high percentage of Danish GDP devoted to education relative to other countries, which in turn, is reflected in favourable teacher/pupil ratios, buildings of a generally high standard, up-to-date equipment, well-paid staff and, in general, a service that compares most favourably with any in the world.

To conclude, we would identify six matters which would seem to warrant further consideration in the immediate future. These, in our view, are important not only for the Danish school system, but for school systems in other OECD countries as well:

a) exploring alternative ways of allowing all parents, teachers and students the opportunity to participate effectively in educational decision-making not only at the school level but also at that of the overall system: this includes the building of the will and the competence for genuinely co-operative decision-making;

b) articulating the respective powers of school governing boards and the authorities at various levels of the overall school system so as to define more clearly the notion of public accountability for public schooling;

c) developing curricular patterns which would both identify the common elements and support, in terms of expertise and materials, the unique services which individual schools are being called on to offer;

d) identifying means of monitoring student achievement and school performance which are more appropriate to the much sought-after educational variety in Denmark than are the traditional but obsolescent instruments such as external examinations;

e) devolving more discretionary power to schools over the kind and mix of resources which they are able to acquire from equitably determined budget allocations (the limited control of individual institutions over major resource items, such as salaries for tenured staff, impose obvious constraints);

f) determining, in view of the high priority given by Denmark both to social equity and freedom of choice, the appropriate weighting to be accorded diversity in schooling with all its benefits to individuals and to local communities but with its potential risks for the achievement of equality of opportunity objectives.

IV. YOUTH EDUCATION AND THE WORLD OF WORK

In its treatment of youth education U-90 marks a notable turning point. It pays far more attention to the significance of the relationships between education and the world of work than have previous national reports on education in Denmark or, for that matter, most other countries. It provides a comprehensive analysis of the changing structure of employment in trade and industry together with a penetrating account of the ways in which the education system serves as a selection and sorting system for the labour market. At the same time, it is adamant that the general aims of education should in no way be sacrificed to narrow labour market considerations. We cite two quotations by way of illustration:

"In our opinion we would rather ask whether the considerations about working life have not been too dominant compared with considerations for the other 'lives'". *

"In any society production must be one of the most important factors, but it should not be decisive in itself. In addition to production and trade, the three other lives should also be considered. But apparently there are not sufficiently energetic advocates of these other considerations. However, this does not imply that in all or in many respects there is necessarily an incompatibility between the demands on the educational system made by trade and industry, and the requirements from the regard for our actions and experiences in the other lives."**

U-90 proposes that each individual leaving school should have a good general education and the opportunity to pursue or to take up a vocational training course that promises to lead to an acceptable employment, as well as an awareness of the importance of continuing with his education throughout life. In the long run it recommends that all young people should be given the opportunity to spend an initial period of at least twelve years in education and receive at least some vocational orientation and training. The emphasis is placed on 'in education' rather than 'in school' because it recognises that many young people become disenchanted with school in its present form and that alternative forms of education for the 16-to-19-year-olds should be encouraged, including alternation between study and work. In other words, it proposes a comprehensive policy of education for youth characterised by freedom of personal choice, flexibility and diversity.

In making this far-reaching proposal U-90 reinforces the views of the then Minister of Education who, in November 1976, presented to the Folketing plans to usher in by stages a coordinated system of education and training for the 10th to 12th years and for the entire age groups.*** In the event these plans have not been adopted, but it seems to us that in the near future they are bound to attract more widespread support in view of the daunting arrangements which presently operate.

The current options before young people at the end of compulsory schooling are numerous and potentially confusing. They are:

i) To proceed directly to a gymnasium;
ii) To pursue an HF course;
iii) To attend a continuation school;

---

* U-90, p. 91.

** U-90, p. 95.

*** Proposal for a Resolution concerning the 10th-12th school years presented to the Folketing (Ministry of Education, 1977).

iv) To attend a youth school;
v) To take a course for technicians;
vi) To take an agricultural course;
vii) To take a trade and industry course under the traditional apprenticeship scheme;
viii) To take a basic vocational training course (EFG);
ix) To begin a traineeship in one of the public services;
x) To quit the education system altogether.

Beyond the extensive choice there also exists what might be termed a stop-gap option, that is, to take a short training course, after the age of 18, under the auspices of the Ministry of Labour.

Our impression from discussions with students and parents alike is that the majority of young people is making choices which are leading to a relatively acceptable outcome. We will accordingly confine our attention to those individuals or groups for whom the choice within the various options is problematic.

Within recent years enrolments in upper secondary education have increased spectacularly - sevenfold since 1950 - for reasons that are familiar in nearly all OECD Member countries. These include rising personal and parental aspirations, peer group pressure, a belief that more education will lead to a better job, and since about 1975 fear of unemployment or low-level employment. In the past all but a few students in the gymnasia aspired to enter a university. A considerable number of the new crop of students either do not have this aspiration or lack the requisite academic ability. In recognition of this the curriculum has been broadened to include more social studies and practical subjects and to offer a wide variety of options. At Lankjaer gymnasium, in Aarhus, for example, there was an experiment planned whereby students could prepare for university entrance while simultaneously retaining the option of preparing for employment in trade or industry or commerce. We have been advised, however, that resistance from both employers and trade unions has hampered its realisation. This seems most unfortunate and the causes of the breakdown warrant close scrutiny.

Nevertheless, it is evident that the raison-d'être of most of the gymnasia very largely remains preparation for university entrance. The stress, at any rate, is on academic performance. It is not therefore surprising that many of these students who either drop out or fail to qualify for university entrance enter the labour market lacking marketable skills. Their situation is aggravated by a lack of effective guidance and counselling services, despite a prescription in the Upper Secondary Act of 1977 that 'pupils shall receive vocational guidance and information concerning further studies'. In our view the vocational component in the curriculum requires strengthening, the stress on academic attainments should be less pervasive and more effective guidance should be provided.

The original purpose of the HF (Higher Preparatory Examination) course was to offer people who had been out of school in employment an opportunity to resume their studies with a view to completing the twelve-year cycle and qualifying, if so desired, for entry into a post-secondary institution. At the present time, 10 per cent of those leaving the folkeskole are taking the higher preparatory course in the gymnasium as an alternative to the regular gymnasium course of studies, which accounts for a further 20 per cent. We consider that while its status of HF remains somewhat equivocal it has three virtues. First, the curriculum is designed on a modular basis. Secondly, assessment is continuous. Thirdly, there is a large number of optional courses. All this flexibility is clearly advantageous to the student who is not seen either by his teacher or by himself as academically strong and need not hold back the academically brilliant. It gives all students the opportunity to test themselves to the limit with little risk of ultimate failure and to avoid foreclosing their career options too prematurely.

The Continuation School is peculiar to Denmark. Its traditional purpose has been to offer young people an opportunity to study in residence for a further year beyond compulsory schooling in a fresh environment and to take stock of their interests and capabilities before embarking upon the next stage in their careers. The schools used to offer courses of about five months' duration to young people who had completed seven years of schooling and who had been in employment for one or more years. Enrolments dropped during the late 1960s and early '70s as the period of compulsory schooling was prolonged first to eight and then to nine years. The schools responded by offering courses of 8 to 10 months parallel to a normal year at the folkeskole: that is, the equivalent of a tenth year. This has had the effect of reversing enrolment trends.

We were informed that many of the continuation school students have faced or are facing educational or emotional problems or both. It seemed to us, however, that not a few of today's students come from well-to-do families and that they are consciously seeking to broaden their experiences before proceeding to further, more formal studies. Spokesmen for the schools told us that they had been relatively neglected in U-90 and that this was regrettable since they stood particularly for the development of essential cultural and social values. We saw from our visit to Abaek that this type of school can perform very useful service both to the individual and the community but would still point out that they are costly in terms of resources consumed, even though much is contributed voluntarily either in materials or services. In particular, there may be a disservice done to students who have not been pointed in a positive direction by the end of their programme of activity. For this reason we would endorse the trend for the schools to devote more attention to the work-oriented needs of their students, and we note that some new schools are being established especially to combat the problem of youth unemployment.

Youth Schools used to cater very largely for school leavers between the ages of 14 and 18 who lacked marketable skills. They are run by the municipalities either during the daytime or in the evenings; a few are residential. Some provide basic vocational training in practical subjects. We see them as yet another expression of the extraordinary pluralism of Danish education and as a further safety net for those who might otherwise forego further education and training.

Vocational preparation for work in trade and industry in Denmark has recently undergone major change. In the past the great majority of young people destined to work in these two areas took the apprenticeship road. By the early 1970s, however, it had become apparent that the traditional apprenticeship system was no longer functioning effectively. In simple quantitive terms the annual intake was inexorably falling; new entrants fell from some 28,000 in 1966/67 to less than 18,000 in 1974/75. This decline led the Ministry of Education to conceive a new system of vocational education for the young.

In effect, Denmark now has two parallel systems under the aegis of the Ministry of Education: (a) the long-established apprenticeship system legislated by a rigorous Apprenticeship Act; (b) a broadly conceived and still much disputed system, commonly known and hereinafter referred to as EFG. Whatever the initial trials and tribulations of EFG we think that it is an imaginative departure and that it represents an important model for other countries to consider. Training under EFG covers a period of three to four years. All students spend their first year pursuing a core curriculum in one of eight clusters of subjects collectively embracing the range of jobs in trade and industry. This reflects the growing international tendency to develop 'transferable skills' rather than to restrict the student to preparation for one specific job. Thereafter, there is a gradual delimitation of the occupational career to be chosen. The overriding intention is to defer career choices by leaving open the possibility for a change of direction until the student is really clear about where he wants to go. After the initial year the student spends a large part of his time in paid employment outside school. The feature of EFG that above all distinguishes it from traditional apprenticeship training is the amount of time devoted to general education.

EFG began as an experiment with very limited capacity - some 2,000 to 2,500 places - and the demand for places exceeded the supply. Since then the capacity has grown rapidly, until in 1978 some 27,000 students have begun EFG. Today, the supply exceeds the demand in some of the first year units and in some geographical areas. It is essential to ask why. There appear to be at least three reasons besides the obvious one that the rate of expansion of services has been too enthusiastic: a lack of financial support for students during the first basic year, as distinct from the wages paid to young apprentices; the

difficulty experienced by many students in finding a training placement with an employer; no guarantee of a job on completion of the course. The latter two difficulties are probably related to the attitudes of employers to the whole EFG system, which are examined below.

The issue of financial support during the first year may well be crucial. The majority of those taking EFG courses come from lower income groups where the urge to earn as rapidly as possible is of paramount concern. One solution is to provide student grants from public sources to make EFG as attractive financially as apprenticeship training. But this raises the question of equity across the whole age cohort still in some type of formal education. Should not all students pursuing a course in any educational institution be awarded a similar grant? U-90 is apprised of the problem. In referring to the general problem of retaining in education after school the student lacking financial support it observes:

> "An element in this would be an expansion of the possibilities of support so that there will not be a strong incentive to enter the labour market instead of getting an education". *

Placement for on-the-job training after the basic year is proving to be a grave problem for many EFG students because the scheme does not call for an indenture to a master tradesman at the beginning. There is probably no solution here during a period of high unemployment other than to offer financial inducements to employers.

To the third problem of a job guarantee there is, of course, no obvious solution, pending a return to full employment. EFG does have the virtue, however, of enabling the student to reflect for one or more years before making his definitive career choice and thereby to take close account of the changing nature of the demand on the labour market.

We cannot leave the topic of vocational education without commenting upon the impressive quality and modernity of the plant and equipment in the technical schools as evidenced at Aalborg and Odense, and the enthusiasm of the staff with whom we had the opportunity to discuss their functions and problems. By international standards it seemed to us that the technical institutions in Denmark are very richly endowed. Setting aside the problem of financial support for students in their first year of study, it is not from a lack of finance that the EFG system is suffering.

There is, however, considerable controversy at the present time where the ultimate responsibility for vocational education should reside. A dissenting note in U-90 points out:

> "It will also be difficult to motivate the individual firms to make traineeships available if they see the education of young people as

---

* U-90, p. 138.

something that takes place in a system for which the business sector has no share in the responsibility."*

The employers' associations are apprehensive about an increased role for "the public education system", particularly about what they regard as the dangers inherent in centralised control. In their estimation the greater the influence of the public education system, the more the values of 'academic' education - the classical gymnasium - will tend to dominate vocational training. There seems less tendency for employers to complain to the extent that their counterparts do in so many other countries that young people are leaving the education system lacking the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic. Even so, they do not trust the general educationists to provide an effective long-run leadership in training. They also argue that needs and problems principally arise at the local level and that as a consequence it is there that control and management should lie, rather than at the centre.

The logic of the employers' thinking leads many of them to be wary of EFG and the disbandment of the apprenticeship scheme (despite official support for this move) in the development of an integrated education-cum-training system for the 16-19 age group as proposed by U-90 and the Minister of Education. They believe that this would encourage many young people to stay unnecessarily long in education who would be better advised to take a job both for their own sake and for the good of the economy. So they conclude:

"... for several reasons it would be considerably better to prepare a 'bifurcate' educational system, i.e. upper secondary education in one branch, and the various courses of vocationally slanted courses in the other". **

To a considerable extent the trade unions share the employers' reservations about an integrated system being unduly weighted towards the academic side but, by contrast, they are strongly in favour of centralised control of training. In their view, a decentralised system leads to harmful fragmentation. Besides, they propose that each young person should end up with a certificate carrying equal validity throughout the country and this obviously calls for some centralised mode of attestation.

The Ministry of Education, for its part, is concerned that all work-oriented courses should contain a substantial element of general education. This is crucial, it believes, not only to ensure that young people can cope with all the challenges of adult life but also that they can qualify, if they so wish, for post-secondary education.

---

* U-90, p. 141.

** U-90, p. 140.

Since the Second World War there has been in Denmark a major shift from agriculturally based to industrially based employment, together with the extensive mechanisation of farming. The result is that today nearly all farms are run by families, with virtually no outside help. We gained the impression that the labour supply well and truly meets the demand and that the arrangements for initial and continuing training operate effectively. We are favourably struck by the breadth of the curriculum in agricultural colleges and the close participation of practising farmers in running them and by the determined effort of small farmers to keep their knowledge up to date and maintain their technical expertise by means of continuing training. The only major problem is one that outsiders are not competent to pronounce upon. This is the near impossibility for young persons from non-farming families to break into a farming career: perhaps this has less to do with the system of education than with the distribution of property and capital.

Despite the kind of sectoral problems to which we have referred the foregoing post-compulsory school options offer the majority of those who select them reasonable prospects of personal satisfaction in employment. The outstanding problem remains what to do for those who leave school without a marketable qualification and who vanish from the education and training scene. More than 25 per cent of those leaving school at the end of the 9th or 10th year go straight into the labour market; some will return to education later on but most will not. All the groups whom we consulted, not least employers' representatives, broadly concurred with the judgement of U-90:

> "However, we cannot in our educational policy accept that some part, be it big or small, of the labour force is left in the lurch and referred to extremely simple and perhaps also monotonous working processes which cannot make their job a meaningful and stimulating one."*

It may be added, a fortiori, that they should certainly not be consigned to long-term unemployment, a central problem that will be taken up below.

In our view, though remedies must be found for this problem of how to assist early school leavers, the best strategy is a preventative one. This means that preparation in the folkeskole for working life has to be improved. Although there is general agreement about this the present arrangements are evidently not successful. We would suggest that three elements must be taken into account: the curriculum; the attitudes of administrative and teaching staff; guidance and counselling.

The curriculum in the last years of the compulsory school has recently been broadened to include a bigger element concerned with

---

* U-90, p. 85.

preparation for working life and to soften the distinction between general and vocational education. Vocational studies as such, now an optimal subject during the 8th to 10th years, is expressly designed to facilitate the transition to employment. Work experience is allowed for, periods of one to two weeks being spent at a work-place on two separate occasions during the final years. These curricular innovations should go far to arouse the interest and enhance the life and social skills of previously unmotivated students. We wonder, however, if the curriculum for all students is as yet sufficiently related to work and life after school.

On the question of the attitudes of professional staff we gained the impression from various meetings that despite the desire of the Ministry of Education to strengthen the relationship between education and employment and the substantial space devoted to it in U-90, the great majority of administrators and teachers are not concerned with preparation for working life except in a very diffuse sense. Nor are they sufficiently persuaded that significant learning takes place in many settings besides the school. This is understandable, given the background and experience of most educational administrators, but it is hardly to be defended. Specific efforts are required to heighten their awareness of the practical pedagogic and organisational implications of the concept to an acceptable level.

The authorities fully recognise that in order to make a sensible personal choice among the multiplicity of options available at the end of compulsory schooling, young men or women must be able to obtain reliable advice. To this end they have recently taken measures to improve guidance and counselling facilities within the schools and through the public employment services. The authorities also recognise that choices should not be irreversible and that it should therefore be possible to transfer from one type of programme to another. Our impression is that in practice it is far from easy to make a transfer.

Under the terms of the new Primary and Lower Secondary Education Act (1975), as mentioned earlier, educational and career guidance is a mandatory part of the curriculum in the 7th to 9th years. The Upper Secondary Act (1977) requires that guidance will be provided for the 10th to 12th years. The Ministry of Labour also runs a long-established vocational guidance service. It does not seem, however, that the guidance service about working life is as yet at all well developed within the education system itself. The Ministry of Education is fully aware of its inadequacy and has given its improvement a high priority. We can only recommend that improvements should be implemented rapidly. We are not entirely convinced of the feasibility of the plan to train under one programme career advisers for all sectors of the school system: neither are the practical workings of the plan to extend and reinforce the links between education institutions and the world of work, above all at the school level, entirely clear. We would further recommend that particular efforts should be made to ensure the participation of parents.

Turning to the need for remedies rather than prevention we believe that U-90 is on the right track in proposing that alternative offers of the productive use of time should be provided for those young people whom the present system has been unable to induce to stay in education. "This presupposes development efforts and pilot schemes in co-operation between local authorities, organisations, the business sector, and the educational establishments. Some of them must be centrally controlled pilot schemes, but it is valuable that local initiatives are also made for such experiments."*

As pointed out, the Ministry of Labour shares responsibility with the Ministry of Education for vocational guidance. They equally share the larger responsibility of facilitating the transition of the young from the education system to working life. We were interested to hear that whereas in the past their relations were distant they have now become close mainly because of their common anxiety about the pressing problem of youth employment.

THE PROBLEM OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

> "Youth unemployment is one of the most serious consequences of the decline in production and employment we have experienced since 1974. It is therefore important for us to make early decisions to ensure that the efforts to alleviate youth unemployment are strengthened, and that local authorities and trade and industry are getting more directly involved."**

As the above statement shows, Denmark faces a problem of high youth unemployment as serious as any in OECD Member countries. The problem has arisen only during the seventies. It is generally acknowledged that the causes are structural and that the problem cannot be solved in the short term. At the present time approximately one in eight youths in the age group 15 to 24 is unemployed and the rate of unemployment among that group is about twice as high as for adults over 25.

As in other countries the most vulnerable youngsters are those who left school at or soon after the compulsory school leaving age. Girls are at an even greater disadvantage than boys. Although not specifically mentioned in U-90, and not cited as a particular policy problem by the Ministry, our information is that the sons and daughters of migrant workers pose a special problem. It is to be noted that many young people aged between 15 and 17 obtain employment at a rate of pay below

---

* U-90, p. 138.

** Quoted in the Ministry of Education Bulletin "Measures to Combat Youth Unemployment Taken According to the Employment Plan", January 1978.

the adult level but lose their jobs when the full wage rate begins to apply at age 18. Many of those to whom we spoke referred to what has come to be known in Denmark as 'the cuckoo effect'. This is the tendency, also noted in other OECD countries, for employers to raise the minimum education qualification level for jobs that remain unchanged in nature and so to reject applicants with lower qualifications, whom previously they would have accepted. In other words, everyone requires more formal education to keep the same place in the queue for jobs. This is no doubt true but we cannot accept the implication that many young people should therefore be discouraged from general education studies. As U-90 consistently argues education is concerned with all four lives.

The authorities have taken particular pains to try to quantify and categorise the number of disadvantaged young people for whom they have coined the phrase 'the residual group'. It is striking that that number seems to be a fairly constant 20,000 (now almost 30 per cent of the cohort of school leavers). Of these, some 3,000 young men and 7,000 young women have adequate educational qualifications to qualify for entry into the further education and training courses which have selection barriers. The authorities frankly acknowledge that the needs of the 10,000 or so school leavers who are without such qualifications cannot easily be met by the traditional education and training arrangements, especially in view of the fact that no screening takes place, for example at the beginning of EFG. Main impediments to assisting them are either that they are poorly motivated or do not see the relevance of schooling to their needs and interests. New ways must therefore be found of arousing their enthusiasm and developing their potential.

Arising from the report of a working party on youth unemployment appointed by the government in 1974, a Central Committee on Youth Unemployment was created in 1975. This committee, which consists of representatives of the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Education, the Department of Labour, the Secretariat for Vocational Training and the Association of Local Authorities, is charged with the dual task of monitoring trends in youth unemployment and coordinating measures to cope with it.

Recognising that the situation necessarily varies from one locality to another the government has also required that local or regional authorities should be set up representing the local authorities, employment offices, vocational schools and labour organisations. Among the local youth unemployment initiatives so far adopted the following are of particular interest to other countries :

i) Provision of ad hoc education or training courses.
ii) Preparatory courses followed by community service activities or courses for semi-skilled workers.

iii) Basic courses at commercial and technical colleges.
iv) Single subject industrial courses out of gymnasia and HF schools to the young unemployed.
v) Courses at adult education centres or domestic science courses.
vi) Job creation.
vii) Joint education-work enterprises.

It is recognised that these are useful but essentially palliative measures and that the overriding need is for a long-term strategy based on coordinated labour and educational policies at the national and local level.

At the beginning of this chapter we referred to the view of a majority of the members of the Central Council of Education that Denmark should move fairly rapidly towards the adoption of a comprehensive but non-compulsory 3-year system of education and training for the 16-19-year-old group, characterised by freedom of choice for the student and a pluralistic structure of institutions.

Since this amounts to a policy for youth education and employment at a time when other OECD Member countries are considering alternative policies, including the idea of "a social guarantee", to deal with the needs of the 16-19 age group, we consider that the key proposal in U-90 merits widespread attention:

> "... (to) see a development towards a structure for the 10th to 13th educational years that embraces a number of opportunities from an expanded upper secondary education and higher preparatory education and a wide range of vocationally slanted courses, primarily based on the model of basic vocational training. In this structure upper secondary schools, commercial schools, technical schools, agricultural schools, domestic science schools, schools of administration, and other schools could be co-ordinated and co-operating education institutions."*

While sympathising with the reservations of the employers' associations, we believe that U-90 is right to advocate this development, especially as it argues for progress by carefully planned stages. The elements of a comprehensive education and training system for young people already exist (the question of provision for adults is taken up in the next chapter). Given the essentially harmonious relations that obtain between the employers and the other social partners and the Danish spirit of compromise there is every likelihood that these elements will be fused together through a gradual process of experimentation and adaptation. All problems will not then fly away but Denmark will at least have forged uncommonly strong links between education and working life and provided a national framework for coordinating the activities of all those concerned with education and training.

---

* U-90, p. 144.

V. HIGHER AND ADULT EDUCATION

As in other OECD Member countries post-secondary education in Denmark has recently expanded and diversified at a rapid rate. For example, the intake to higher education doubled from 10,000 to 20,000 students per year from about 1960 until the mid-seventies. The general aim of recent government policy has been to extend access to a broad cross-section of society without sacrificing standards. Individuals not having the requisite entrance qualifications may apply for dispensatory admissions: currently some 10 per cent of 'third cycle' entrants have demonstrated their competence by means other than the normal preparatory examinations. An even larger proportion of students improve their matriculation rating to the acceptable entry standard by working satisfactorily at a job for a period of time after leaving school. Also, there is a proposal under consideration that any person who has succesfully completed twelve years of basic education or who, being over the age of 22, can attest by examination to having the requisite amount of knowledge, be entitled to follow a post-secondary course. The government has also taken steps to ensure that equitable opportunities for post-secondary studies should be available in each of the main regions of the country and, today, the great majority of Danes are geographically near to an educational institution. The maintenance of high standards is thought to be crucial for a country which, as U-90 puts it, must hold her own in international competition, maintain a high standard of living and further develop the welfare state.

The liberal policy of the government and the Folketing has necessitated creating entirely new universities, integrating existing institutions into new universities and generally expanding the existing institutions. At university level there is a rich and varied pattern of provision. The oldest university, Copenhagen, dates from 1479 and has the highest student enrolment. Aarhus was founded in 1928 as a private institution but was gradually taken over by the State. During the last decade or so new universities with somewhat differing structures were founded at Odense (1966), Roskilde (1972) and Aalborg (1974). * A number of specialised institutions prepare graduates for specific professions: for example, agronomics, architecture, dentistry, engineering, pharmacy and veterinary medicine.

U-90 offers an acute and thorough analysis of the present condition and future prospects of higher education. We propose to comment upon the key issues that it raises, to reflect the reactions to recent developments of the institutional representatives whom we met and to draw

---

* On local initiative a new institution (Sydjsk Universitetscenter) was recently established in Esjberg. Up to now it does not enjoy state support and the staff is occupied in research work only.

attention to some important issues that have not yet been actively considered.

The first issue relates to the enforcement of a numerous clausus by the national authorities; in 1974 the Higher Education Planning Council published a report in which it forecast a marked continuing increase in first degree courses. Subsequent predictions confirmed its judgement. The authorities were accordingly faced with the daunting prospect of ever-escalating costs. Almost simultaneously it became evident that, as a result of economic problems of both a conjunctural and a structural nature, many graduates were experiencing increasing difficulty in finding an employment up to the level of their expectations or in finding stable employment of any kind. The authorities felt that there should be some relationship between the intake of new students and conditions in the labour market.

The action taken by the authorities was to fix a national ceiling on the annual intake of students and to extend the quota system (which has long been in force at most professional training establishments) to universities, leading to restricted intakes to certain over-subscribed studies. This response might seem to run counter to their egalitarian admissions policy were it not for the fact that a quota of 20,000 represents a not ungenerous estimate of individual demand and that the recent introduction of a central clearing system for receiving and sorting applications facilitates student placement. Although many applicants may be unable to attend the university or to take the subject or subjects of their first choice there appear to be few applicants with the minimum entrance requirements who fail to find a place somewhere. Certainly, we did not encounter any expression of grievances about unfilled demand. At the same time, there would appear to be a contradiction between allowing the gymnasia to expand while restricting the university intake.

It is true that if, as suggested below, there is in the coming years to be a sharp increase in applications from mature students, the ceiling may keep out some qualified young applicants. To judge from present enrolment trends, however, it is likely that any growth in demand from mature students will be matched by the demographic decline and its effects upon the demand from young people.

We could not fail to be struck by the conviction of many of the university representatives whom we met, including teachers and students alike, that the imposition of a numerus clausus was merely the most conspicuous sign of the rapid erosion of academic and institutional autonomy under the pressure of financial and structural prescriptions from the Ministry of Education and a general tendency to politicise higher education. In fact, the Ministry has evidently been reacting to the need, equally felt during the last few years by the national education authorities in other OECD countries, to introduce firmer central direction over institutions in a sector of education that has expanded

enormously within a very short space of time and that is consuming substantial public resources. Greater uniformity among them and co-ordination between them is desired. Today the aim of the Ministry is to monitor supply and demand, to ensure that resources are equitably distributed and applied with optimum efficiency, and to try to achieve a better balance between student subject choices and labour market openings.

Meanwhile, Denmark is far from adopting any rigid master plan. The universities continue to enjoy favourable treatment by international standards. Once allocated, the internal distribution of funds by individual institutions is not controlled; the ratio of staff to students is favourable; academic and administrative salaries are high; the national time allocated for research (40 per cent) as opposed to teaching (50 per cent) and administration (10 per cent) is generous; buildings are spacious and remarkably well equipped; and instructional aids are abundant and up-to-date. We would also add that within institutions the power of decision-making has been widely dispersed; junior members of staff and students are well represented on the various planning boards and committees.

In an endeavour to ensure greater co-ordination of tertiary level courses throughout the country the Ministry of Education set up in 1975 six advisory subsectoral committees - Humanities, Psychology and Education, Social Science, Health Services, Natural Sciences and Engineering. Each committee has sixteen members, includes representatives of teachers, graduate students and employers, and, while not an official requirement, seems to take account of geographical distribution. The chairmen are automatically members of the Council for Post-Secondary Education, which suggests broad planning initiatives. So far the committee has considered such matters as measures to counteract graduate unemployment, admission policies and procedures, new study courses and the regional distribution of educational facilities.

We encountered some scepticism about the value of the work of these committees and not a little downright hostility towards them. A particularly sore point is that the various institutions cannot nominate members directly. In our view, however, the committees represent an enterprising attempt to bridge the gap between the Ministry of Education and the various institutions. Their effectiveness will obviously depend in the long run upon their ability to remain independent of both sides, to have a comprehensive and dispassionate view of the needs and problems of their respective sectors, to initiate important reforms and to co-ordinate successfully their discrete activities under the aegis of the Council for Post-Secondary Education.

The second issue concerns the high drop-out rate during the first undergraduate year, which at 50 per cent in certain disciplines is acute. We appreciate that this rate is less severe than it appears at first sight

because some 'drop-out' students transfer to another discipline or another institution and others return to university at a later stage following a period in employment. It would be valuable to collect exact figures for the drop-out rate both within and as between universities and to establish statistically the precise proportion of students transferring to other disciplines or institutions or only temporarily suspending their studies. It would seem that in some disciplines the staff are applying an internal numerus clausus by tailoring the failure rate during the first year to their estimate of the number of students who can be absorbed effectively during subsequent years, given such factors as the availability of teaching resources and laboratory space. This suspicion is reinforced by the fact that relatively few students in any discipline drop out of their courses after the first year.

It is probable that the first year drop-out rate would be significantly reduced if incoming students were better informed about the intellectual and time demands of their chosen courses and better prepared for studying in a university environment. Are the gymnasia performing adequately? We wonder, too, whether at present there is sufficient liaison between the schools and the universities with a view to minimising the stresses felt by young students in making what is necessarily a disturbing transition; and whether adequate care is taken by the universities to induct each entrant gradually into the required level, methods and tempo of study and to provide prompt counselling for those who quickly find themselves psychologically disoriented by the demands made upon them. We say this knowing that all institutions presently offer courses to beginners which are supposedly designed to help them overcome such difficulties.

Thirdly, it is to be noted that, in common with universities in several other OECD countries, the Danish universities require their undergraduates to study for an average of five and a half years before graduating (if in the newer universities some shorter courses are offered in certain vocational subjects, other courses may take as long as eight to ten years) and to attain a high level of academic achievement, including competence in research. This lengthy period was no doubt justified in the past when the percentage of young people entering universities was relatively small, selection was based on very stringent academic criteria and most graduates entered the public service or the traditional professions or become academic specialists, but it may be questioned whether it remains desirable in an age of something nearer to mass higher education. That the cost of maintaining long degree courses it great and that each additional year consumes resources that might be applied to other programmes is self-evident: there is recognition of these opportunity costs in the policy of allowing people from outside the university community to follow courses where places are vacant in any one year; and indeed special one-off units of study

for the same clientele are being prepared. It may be further asked whether it is wise to require a high percentage of students to master advanced specialised knowledge and expertise in research which they are unlikely to have occasion to utilise after graduation.

In addition, we wonder what effects the retention of long courses is having upon the potential demand for places from mature candidates. It is obvious that full-time study for a period of five and a half years is impracticable for nearly all adults in active employment. It is perhaps less obvious that the alternative of taking a degree through part-time attendance over an even longer period is a forbidding prospect, for an adult must possess uncommon optimism and determination to work towards a graduate target seven or more years away. The issue of the length of undergraduate studies would seem to be all the more ripe for investigation in view of the increasing number of overqualified graduates entering a relatively shrinking labour market.

That the authorities are acutely conscious of the existence of this problem is shown by their desire to increase the number of shorter degree courses and to encourage wider adoption of modular course structures. Indeed, the new University Centres of Roskilde and Aalborg started out by offering a mixture of long and short degree courses and a modular pattern of courses. The challenge is how to persuade students and the general public, especially employers, that shorter degree courses are not intrinsically inferior to longer ones. The Universities of Copenhagen and Aarhus continue to enjoy high esteem. Since they retain courses of a traditional length there is a tendency for the recently founded institutions to emulate them, although innovations in structure, content and pedagogical techniques are important. The authorities will sooner or later have to resolve the question whether all the universities should offer courses of a similar length or whether a hierarchy of prestige and an explicit division of functions should be frankly recognised.

The fourth issue relates to the extent to which it is possible to relate the university intake into the various disciplines to the changing pattern of occupational demand within the labour market. The authorities want to see a closer relationship and to this end they have set up a Committee for Forecasting Labour Market Needs which is assembling statistics on long-term occupational demand trends, particularly in the public sector, because of the power of public authorities themselves to control demand here, and are encouraging the universities to develop a network of contacts among employers and to build up efficient career guidance services. It is notoriously difficult to forecast future occupational requirements especially when the time-span between the start and the end of a university course is as long as five and a half years. Nevertheless some effort is clearly necessary, particularly of an informational and qualitative rather than a positivist kind, and it will be interesting to see what operational mechanisms for responding to labour market changes are developed both by the authorities and by the universities.

The fifth issue to which we would draw attention is one that affects all OECD countries with varying degrees of intensity. This is the problem of how to ensure that there shall be a regular infusion of new blood into university teaching, research and administration. During the expansionist years the numbers of staff increased several times over, vacancies being very largely filled from among recent graduates. The result is that the average age of the Faculty is very low, especially in the new universities. Since the curtailment of funds prevents the appointment of additional staff, except in a few disciplines, this means that, in the absence of extraordinary recruitment measures, institutions will be staffed by the same people for thirty years or more. Outstanding graduates will therefore be unable to take up posts, to their own frustration and to the detriment of the universities and the intellectual vitality of the nation. There are no ready solutions to this problem but we do suggest that it should be tackled as a matter of urgency.

The sixth and final issue concerns the democratisation of entry into post-secondary education. Despite the aim of public policy to bring a representative cross-section of society into post-secondary education the present intake remains socially selective. U-90 points out:

> "The courses of further (post-secondary) education constitute an extreme expression of the unequal distribution of educational benefits and of the values they open up to. And the imbalance of the social recruitment is probably greater at this level in the educational system than in the previous ones."*

Full details of the socio-economic profile of the post-secondary student population are not available. It would seem desirable to identify them.

As pointed out above, the Ministry of Education wishes to see the functions of the universities diversified so that higher education opportunities may be enjoyed by a broader cross-section of the population, a greater variety of learning needs may be satisfied and student mobility between institutions may be facilitated. It recognises that this will entail opening existing courses to students who wish to pursue only sections of a degree course, designing special courses for non-traditional students and generally stimulating the recruitment of mature students. At present the number of mature entrants to the universities remains small. This may reflect the true level of demand. On the other hand, it may be that if comprehensive and imaginative information services were to be established the demand would turn out to be substantial. Apart from egalitarian considerations and the desire to reduce intergenerational disparities, it is in the interest of the universities themselves actively to seek new categories of students in view of the fact that the falling birthrate may well lead to a decline in the traditional intake straight from the gymnasia.

---

* U-90, p. 152.

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

U-90 emphasizes the critical importance of teacher training in facilitating educational change in terms that brook no dispute:

> "The teachers hold a key position in the educational system, and if the ideas and proposals we have discussed in this report are to make progress, it requires active co-operation and involvement on the part of the teachers at all levels in the system. The training of teachers and educators is consequently one of the very central tasks of the educational system."*

Most teachers are trained in separate institutions according to the level or type of institution in which they will become engaged, viz. pre-primary (nursery school), primary and upper secondary. Teachers in upper secondary schools, including those responsible for higher qualifying examination courses, are university graduates who have undergone a short professional post-graduate training. Teachers in apprenticeship schools and vocational training institutions receive trade training together with a short course in education theory and practice. We endorse the judgement of U-90 that "There is only inadequate flexibility and possibilities of transition, and clear social gaps between the individual categories of teachers."* Our attention was drawn to a lack of congruence in the training of pre-primary and primary teachers which is said to lead to inadequate co-operation between the two groups. We also observed that primary and upper secondary teachers regard each other as belonging to separate camps. This separatism in training and in attitudes, which is further reflected in differential salaries and conditions of service (although, by international standards, the teaching service as a whole is well off relative to other occupational groups), may well be doing harm to the performance of the teaching profession as a whole and it is scarcely calculated to encourage the kind of close collaboration that is needed in order to facilitate the pupil's progress through the three main stages of the education cycle. In our view, measures to introduce a common training core, as suggested in U-90, and to move towards more uniform rewards and terms of service are to be recommended.

As regards the specific professional training of upper secondary teachers, we wonder if the present courses are not too abbreviated to be effective, especially in view of the weight of new demands upon the upper secondary schools and the fact that relatively few of these teachers attend in-service training courses. It is to be noted that representatives of university students expressed the opinion to us that upper secondary teachers received too little preliminary practical preparation, but they had nothing to say about what may be the even more urgent need to establish in-service training as part of the teachers' full induction into the profession.

---

* U-90, p. 160.

A particularly acute problem in Denmark concerns the training of primary school teachers, who, as can be seen from Table 3, represent a very large section of the teaching profession. For a country with a small population Denmark has a considerable number of training colleges (29), both state and private, each offering 3- to 4-year courses. During the recent period of expansion there was no difficulty in absorbing their output into the teaching force. Today, however, falling rolls have already reduced the child population in the first years of primary school and before long the entire school population will have declined sharply. In order to avoid creating a pronounced surplus of teachers the authorities have imposed a ceiling of 3,000 on the annual intake of the colleges, which necessitates rejecting large numbers of applicants. This is, however, only a partial and a contentious solution to the problem.

Table 3. NUMBER OF TEACHERS 1976/77 IN PARTICULAR BRANCHES

	FULL-TIME TEACHERS	PART-TIME TEACHERS (FULL-TIME EQUIVALENT TERMS)[2]
Primary and Lower Secondary School	40,000	9,900
Upper Secondary School and Higher Preparatory Education	4,300	700
Vocational training[1]	3,700	800
Courses of further education	7,000	1,800
Folk high schools, continuation schools, etc.	2,000	500
Leisure-time education	200	1,500
Total	57,200	15,200

1. Comprises teachers at technical schools and commercial schools only.
2. When converting the figures for part-time teachers into full-time posts the required lessons applying to the respective categories of teachers have been used.

SOURCE: U-90, p. 65.

To shut down colleges is not the surgical solution it may appear. They are widely dispersed throughout the country and in many areas make such a vital contribution to the local economy that there would be powerful local objections to their closure. Moreover, it would be

necessary to overcome the resistance of representatives of the teachers as well as the various student bodies for these are not only opposed to their closure but to the very policy of numerus clausus. They argue that more teaching resources are required in order to raise the overall quality of education, that the present teacher/pupil ratio is still unfavourable in many schools and that the employment of more teachers would enable the existing staff to participate in greater numbers, as well as more beneficially, in in-service training courses. In-service training, they say, is more important at present than at any time before seeing that the more demanding roles expected of teachers leaves them too little time for reflection and up-dating their skills. In short, they share the view of many educationalists in other OECD countries that the advent of falling rolls offers a golden opportunity to deploy human resources to greater effect.

It is not for us to adjudicate in this matter. However, we would point out that by comparative international standards the present teacher/pupil ratio is favourable and the current level of participation by primary school teachers in in-service training is far from negligible. At the same time, as suggested in the next paragraph, the scope for more in-service training is probably considerable.

A possible solution to the existence of so many teacher training colleges might be to diversify their functions so that they could serve the general educational needs of their surrounding communities. Such a development would fit in with the government's policy for expanding learning opportunities for adults but would obviously call for close collaboration with existing adult education institutions. It might also be worth considering the careful development of an in-service training role for the colleges, given the legal authorisation of May 1978 for them to be so engaged. At present in-service training for primary school teachers and lecturers in teacher training colleges is mainly the responsibility of the Royal Danish College of Educational Studies, which operates through its centre in Copenhagen and geographically dispersed branch institutions and caters annually for about 15,000 full and part-time students out of the 50,000 teachers employed in the folkeskole. In addition, a small amount of in-service training takes place under the auspices of local community boards. Although attendance is voluntary, the Royal Danish College cannot meet all the current demand. If all teachers were expected or even required to undergo periodic training the demand would become so great as to call for new resources. These could be provided by the training colleges.

We were not able to enquire at all closely into the training of technical and vocational teachers. Our view is, however, that with the advent of EFG and proposals to introduce a comprehensive educational training system for young people, in-service professional development in this area assumes rising importance, especially if the divide between

general and vocational education is to be successfully bridged. What, it may be asked, is the potential for creating a generic core course for all teachers with the possibility of optional additional courses related to each specific area of education?

U-90 invites consideration:

> "whether part of the increased requirement for recruitment of teachers for adult education can be covered by the transition of teachers with teaching experience from the primary and lower secondary schools."*

On this, we would utter a warning that the teaching of adults requires particular attitudes, life experiences and approaches that are not commonly possessed by primary school teachers. At the same time, we can only endorse the plea of U-90 for greater teacher mobility among the different educational sectors and for increased possibilities for re-training in another professional area for those who wish to leave teaching for another occupation.

ADULT EDUCATION

The Central Council of Education:

> "finds that adult education plays a very important part in the total future educational strategy, and that this applies to the entire range of different activities within the field. Adult education must be accorded a higher priority in the future educational policy, i.e. more attention should be devoted to it, and more resources allocated to the field of adult education."**

The Ministry of Education has endorsed this evaluation of the importance of adult education and the need to expand and increase the effectiveness of the overall provision of facilities for adult learning.

This importance ascribed to adult education is only fitting in a country which has the international reputation of being the cradle of one of the main forms of adult education in post-industrial societies, namely, popular enlightenment through liberal studies. The ideas of Grundtvig, the father figure of Danish adult education, have penetrated into many parts of the world and the Folk High School, *** instituted as early as 1844, is perhaps the most celebrated model among all adult education institutions. Denmark is also one of the few countries in the world which guarantees generous financial support to adult education activities subject to minor conditions. For example, any group of at least twelve

* U-90, p. 163.

** U-90, p. 153.

*** The Folk High Schools are long-term residential colleges and all very small.

people who embark upon a course of study can claim 85 per cent of the teaching costs.

Within recent years the formerly narrow conception of adult education as popular enlightenment and essentially a leisure-time pursuit has rapidly yielded to a comprehensive interpretation of its functions. * Today it is generally recognised as embracing all the organised learning efforts of adults, including formal, non-formal and informal modes of learning as well as vocational training. The education authorities and a host of non-governmental agencies, several of which are nationally organised, collectively provide a variegated array of programmes. The isolation of adult education from the mainstream of education has also been reduced as measures have been taken to treat it as a subsystem of the national education system.

The public rate of participation in adult education is impressive by international standards and continuously increasing. A report prepared for OECD in 1974 showed that out of an adult population of 3.75 million there had been approximately 600,000 participants in programmes arranged during the academic year 1972/73. ** By 1976/77 this total had risen to approximately 1 million and we were told that presently 4 out of every 10 Danes between the ages of 20 and 60 are involved in adult education. When allowances have been made for the double counting of participants who enrolled in more than one programme, this indicates a probable 20 per cent participation rate. Since, in addition, there is a significant turnover from year to year in the composition of the participants, it is further probable that a majority of Danes, perhaps a great majority, attend an adult education course at least once in their lifetime. No wonder interest is being expressed in the British Open University concept.

The gross national expenditure on adult education is also high by international criteria. The study cited above, referring to the year 1972/73, suggested as a crude estimate that the total of combined public and private expenditure was over 1 billion Kroner or about 300 Kroner per adult. *** By 1975/76 public expenditure alone had risen to around 1.5 billion Kroner. ****

---

* A national report entitled Perspective Planning 1970-88, published in 1971, noted that "The education of adults, until recent years, has been virtually entirely a matter of leisure activity of which the greater part has not been directed towards any vocational or occupational aim or scientific goal".

** Learning Opportunities for Adults, Vol. IV, Participation in Adult Education, OECD, Paris, 1977, p. 140.

*** Ibid, p. 149.

**** U-90, p. 182.

Having paid a deserved tribute to an honourable tradition and to the high level of current participation, we hope that we may have licence to comment on what we see as weaknesses in the present scope and pattern of the provision. First, although having seen other reports besides U-90 containing advanced ideas about the potential goals of adult education in a rapidly changing society and constructive proposals for strengthening it both structurally and financially, we have gained the impression that in practice there is little dynamic movement. Secondly, the field is even more fragmented than in many other comparable countries and we were not informed of any concrete plans for rationalising it. Thirdly, Denmark faces the problem which is worldwide, that those adults who have the least initial education are taking least advantage of the existing programmes.

The main reason for the apparent lack of dynamism may well be the permissiveness of the philosophy underpinning Danish practice. Except for the vocational training component adult education is viewed very largely as a private local activity. Material public support is always available but the demand for it is expected to arise spontaneously from grass roots initiatives. Those directly concerned with managing programmes, whether as salaried professionals or voluntary organisers, appear to regard their autonomy as inviolate. Insofar as articulating opinions at all about their accountability, they argue that greater public involvement would lead to undesirable controls. For their part the public authorities uphold a time-honoured policy of leaving the management and development of adult education very largely to private agencies. They intervene only when there is an absence of private initiatives.

There is, of course, a powerful democratic case to be made in favour of allowing local groups, autonomous institutions and popular movements to determine their own aims and to manage their own programmes free from external constraints. On the other hand, there are two potential disadvantages in this permissive practice. First, institutions and popular movements founded to meet an educational need at a particular historical juncture often tend eventually to become unenterprising and even obsolescent. Without meaning to imply that this is generally true of Denmark we have the impression that some agencies which have long been financed out of public funds are reluctant to question the relevance of their contemporary functions. Secondly, when it is the custom to assign responsibility for the satisfaction of changing educational needs to private initiatives there is a risk not only of duplication of effort - which may be defended, of course, in the name of healthy competition - but of leaving many educational needs unmet. Again, we do not mean to imply that by comparison with other countries there is an exceptional amount of unmet needs in Denmark. Rather we feel that in the light of the importance attached by the Ministry of Education and by U-90 to expanding and strengthening adult education, the present structuring and modes of financing adult

education are inadequate. We have particularly in mind such aims as reducing the generation gap in educational achievement and stimulating the interest of disadvantaged groups in further education and training.

We see no solution other than for the national authorities to perform a more positive and coherent role. To this end we note that three types of experiment have been launched on the initiative of the Ministry and the Sector Council for Adult Education in order to motivate educationally underprivileged adults to take more education: experiments whereby a voluntary organisation plans education for employees in an individual company; experiments whereby organisations for adult education in a medium-sized town co-ordinate their already existing activities with those provided by social welfare authorities and libraries and, by active marketing and guidance, try to reach those who so far have not used these services; and experiments whereby, within one region, organisations for adult education together with the mass media try to provide people who have a limited education with supplementary educational opportunities. Such national initiatives do not imply the abandonment of a respect for pluralism and the virtues of grass roots action, or a threat to the autonomy of existing agencies. On the contrary, it is a question of retaining the distinctive democratic features of traditional practice while ensuring that the sector as a whole is organised to be more responsive to the declared aims of national policy.

We would suggest that consideration be given to undertaking an independent national inquiry into the adequacy of the current provision of adult education, perhaps using as a take-off point the Danish Social Research Institute's recent report on the state of adult education. * This would entail finding out precisely which groups in the population are being served and to what extent and for what reasons social groups and individuals in need of learning opportunities are being neglected. It would also entail identifying deficiencies in the present arrangements for organising and financing and proposing remedies.

For the purpose of such an inquiry and, indeed, for the continuing efficiency of adult education services it would seem essential to adopt a national research and development policy. We noted that little research into adult education has so far taken place and that there appears to be no established machinery for undertaking it. This is, in turn, reflected in an absence of reliable information about such questions as the value of what the various agencies are doing, what are the changing educational needs of adults, what are the most effective instructional methods for adults and whether the available resources are being distributed to the best effect. In our view it is desirable to establish a

* Education Activities and Educational Background and Demand in the Danish Population in the Mid-1970s, Danish Social Research Institute, Copenhagen, 1977.

research and development unit either as an independent body or in association with an existing institution.

Along with a dearth of research we also noted the absence of any systematic arrangements for the training of adult educators - organisers and specialists as well as teachers. It is obvious that if the adult education services as a whole are to be greatly expanded during the coming years there will be an increasing need for full-time administrators, organisers and specialists in such areas as communications techniques, and a far greater proportion of full-time as opposed to part-time teachers. All these professionals will need to be trained as thoroughly as are teachers for the primary schools. The question then arises whether some existing institution or institutions should take on this responsibility or whether a new type of institution should be created. It is, of course, possible to envisage the setting up of a central institution on the model of the Royal Danish College of Educational Studies, which might not only assume responsibility for the training of adult educators but also for the research and development function described above. This would not preclude the development of regional training centres.

Two other desiderata seem to us to call for specific attention: (a) effective national and local co-ordination; (b) an effective system of financing. As regards the need for effective co-ordination we have already referred to the great number of bodies concerned with the provision of adult education. Let us merely add that most of the national ministries share at least some responsibility and that the Ministry of Labour in particular is one of the biggest providers through its vocational training schemes. We would simply suggest that ways and means of instituting co-ordinating machinery at the national and local levels might be the subject of an investigation.

We are aware that up to a point the Sector Council for Youth and Adult Education performs a de facto national co-ordinating role and that, indeed, it is in general a valuable source of recommendations about the development of adult education. It is, however, an unusually large and somewhat disparate body, functioning according to its terms of reference as an advisory rather than an operational instrument. We are not clear how, if at all, it could be suitably transformed so as to carry out executive responsibilities.

At the sub-national level, we were informed that in some areas steps had recently been taken to set up co-ordinating machinery. This seems to us a development to be encouraged.

Finally, on the question of financing, we would offer two remarks. The first is that, if expenditure on vocational training be left out of account, the total public expenditure on adult education is small in comparison with that on the formal provision for children and young people. Yet a major expansion of adult education is only a realistic

possibility given that there is the public will to allocate considerably more funds and a clear understanding of what the funds are needed for. Secondly, we would ask whether the hoped-for increase in adult participation in upper secondary and post-secondary level courses, * as opposed to 'leisure-time', non-credit courses, is really to be expected unless a generous students' grants system is introduced. The alternative is, of course, as mentioned above, to legislate for paid educational leave.

In general, we feel that during the last few years Denmark has adopted appropriate measures for providing a post-school system that is in tune with contemporary societal and individual needs and that operates both flexibly and equitably. Within the education system as a whole there has been a de facto redistribution of resources designed to restrain the costs of traditional forms of higher education so as to ensure the development of other sectors. We think that this was necessary.

Although there is a desire to introduce many more short courses and to promote part-time studies, especially for adults, we consider that a positive national policy is lacking. The principles of recurrent education underlie much of the argument in U-90 but we see few signs of pragmatic proposals to apply them. For example, the issue of paid educational leave has yet actively to be taken up.

---

* Since August 1978 the county authorities have been authorised to run single subject courses for adults leading both to the folkeskole's final examinations and the higher preparatory examination. Despite the absence of financial assistance, this type of study has doubled in popularity over the past five years and currently caters for some 60,000 individuals. The extent to which such study is 'investment' rather than 'consumer' led is not yet clear.

VI. ISSUES OF STRUCTURE AND PROCEDURE

U-90 is now a fact: its very existence and the debate it has engendered form an integral part of the planning exercise of, and day-by-day decision-making in, Danish education as it moves towards the 1990s . Chapter II contains our views about U-90 as a pointer. We simply reiterate that we found it, as the reference document for our review of Danish education, to be a comprehensive compendium of thoughtful argument based on a conservatively optimistic view of economic prospects and on considerable faith in the equalising potential of education as a weapon in the struggle for a fair and just social order. Chapters III to V convey our views on the issues surrounding the various cycles of Danish education today, the baseline for the thrust towards 1990. We deliberately focused on the issues which are current in most OECD countries and these will be recapitulated in Chapter VII. The purpose of the present chapter is to identify several issues underlying ways and means for planning and administering the system as it evolves over the next decade and more.

Considerations of structure and procedure are important because the scope and pace of recent reform in most sectors of Denmark's education system have led to (even if they were not all stimulated by) considerable public interest and scrutiny in it. In turn, this public awareness has directed attention to the decision-making processes within the system - and particularly to the way in which they influence the outcomes of deliberations on such question as: has the expansion of the various sectors of education been well balanced; and, is the overall financial commitment to education at an appropriate level? Further questions then ensue about effective nationwide educational planning given the traditional autonomy of county and municipal authorities in these areas; and about efficient machinery for advising the government and the Folketing on educational policy.

Such matters have assumed increasing urgency as the implications of substantial educational expenditure in the context of a fragile economy are more widely comprehended. The themes running through these concerns about structure and procedure are particularly sensitive for

Denmark, because they focus on the respective roles of the State, education-related specialists and parents in the planning and governance of education. The following pages reflect how we think governmental machinery, the school community and the world of educational researchers and practitioners can together move Danish education towards 1990 along the most suitable path.

MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

As in most modern societies, Denmark has developed its own pattern of public policy and service functions. It is obviously influenced by the expressed needs of the time (e.g. the linking of labour market and education initiatives in response to the youth unemployment situation) as well as by tradition.

Education in Denmark is being viewed more and more as an element in a consortium of sectoral services aimed at particular target groups. Equally, there is increasing public recognition of the power of some educative institutions in society which are beyond the immediate control of the school and even the family, and consequently of the fact that these institutions must be taken into account in the forward planning of the total education (as distinct from merely the school) system. This popular commitment to integrated social policy seems to be growing despite a not-surprising preference on the part of involved professionals to maintain their specialisations.

The education sector itself is characterised by various types (e.g. pre-school, general, technical, adult), hierarchies (e.g. local, regional, national) and institutions (e.g. school, family, the media, church) which are in turn linked to several governmental ministries (e.g. education, labour, agriculture, health) and to elements of the private sector (e.g. commerce and industry). We are thus faced simultaneously with a broader definition of education and an expanded concept of the role of education in shaping patterns of living and working.

In our opinion there are three different approaches to integrated and comprehensive policy formulation in such a situation: (a) consolidation of decision-making authority within a single agency such as a Ministry with operational units maintaining their identities; (b) co-ordination of the planning function through an overarching body such as CCE which may or may not have formal powers to monitor collaboration "on the ground"; (c) integration of services at the point where they are actually provided - in local communities - through 'multi-service' institutional arrangements, of which the beginnings exist in the field of early education. All of these approaches to co-ordination are dependent upon the moulding of authority relationships in the pertinent areas so that genuine collaboration is possible.

Any moves towards integration will be for the better and we regard them as feasible in a country of the size and the homogeneity of Denmark. Nation-level support for intersectoral development is indispensable to successful integration. This does not mean that popular participation in the governance of educational services - so much part of the Danish ethos - would necessarily become subordinate to some central government strategy. On the contrary, the very maintenance of participation in the face of the complexity and interdependence of today's policy issues demands a general policy-making framework which protects the exercise of discretion at the operating level. For, of course, central government measures are useful only if their impact is felt at the point where benefits are needed.

The development of this general framework, however, will not necessarily best arise out of specially created formal 'cross-sectors'. This is especially so in a period of public spending constraints when innovation in public administrative structures is often frowned upon. A better approach might be to obtain a deeper understanding within the education sector itself of problems which are essentially intersectoral. This is not to deny the benefits to be gained from establishing new structures and procedures to act as catalysts. We have already pointed to the need to bring together specialists and interest groups from different areas in tackling problems relating to early childhood, special and youth education. For those who wish to contribute to educational policy and practice must increasingly come to regard themselves as intersectoralists, even though they may be planted firmly in education agencies of one kind or another.

As a first step, we would suggest a more intensive collating and analysis of pertinent basic data. For example, a synopsis could be prepared of the institutional characteristics of major social policy areas (e.g. education, welfare, employment) in terms of the values, objectives and governance procedures underlying the various provisions for client groups. This would allow possible linkages and potential zones of conflict to be identified and therefore facilitate examination of the key relationships between education and the other service sectors.

This raises the crucial issue of the extent to which government-backed planners and researchers, whether located at national or sub-national levels, should become actively involved in decision-making as distinct from being sources of ideas, information and advice. Such considerations must be made in the light of the traditionally benign role of the central government in Danish educational matters: compared with other OECD countries educational services have been handsomely financed and there has been only broad prescription about the application of an accountability for resources. This is not to say that some elements of the system - for example, individual schools - are not somewhat 'overdetermined' by regulations emanating from county and

municipal levels of government. However, the intrinsically elastic response to social demand has become more difficult to maintain as more people become aware of the limits to the size of the national purse. Nevertheless, an instrumentalist view of education, whereby institutions are manipulated and students are moulded in accordance with some superordinate objective, is still anathema to the Danish temperament. This is illustrated by the absence of any overall strategy for linking the past decade's vigorous expansion of technical, further and higher education services to manpower or economic requirements. Furthermore, until the very recent introduction of numerus clausus, the supply of post-compulsory educational services was determined mainly by estimates of the aggregated aspirations of individuals.

Attempts to effect a change of direction or emphasis is however more easily said than done. The various elements of the system are functionally interdependent but, by tradition, administratively independent. To see this in concrete terms, we note that the Ministry of Education is responsible for most of the institutionalised education services in Denmark. The Ministry is organised into one Department and five Directorates with the former responsible for the co-ordination and the latter for the operation of particular sectors of the system. In addition, both popularly elected and ministerially appointed boards and councils exist at various levels of government with varying degrees of influence on and responsibility for specific functions. The existence of manifold government authorities produces a complicated administrative structure with resultant complex, sometimes overlapping and even conflicting decision-making. Current government intervention in, for example, the university domain is being regarded by the sector as an ominous sign of bureaucratic excess elsewhere.

Thus, Denmark is faced with a problem common to many OECD countries: a desire for responsiveness to local and regional preferences and system flexibility on the one hand, and a desire for tighter accountability of public expenditure and minimum levels of education competence on the other. In addition to the overt difficulties arising from the ambiguous distribution of authority among various instrumentalities, there are latent problems. For example, our conversations with most officials at individual institutions revealed a limited understanding of and sometimes no interest in how resources are allocated to their particular institutions. Therefore, few incentives exist either to promote internal institutional efficiency or to uphold some agreed-upon set of national or regional objectives. In other words, if the process of determining an institution's budget is not understood by those connected with the institution, then it may well pursue its own agenda without concern for more widely accepted goals and for making optimal use of the resources available.

This being said we nevertheless think that some of the instruments of central control presently in use could well be modified with little reduction in the effective monitoring of across-county activities, while at the same time allowing for increased local discretion. For example, in the case of the folkeskole, the Ministry defines maximum group sizes (28 pupils per 'class', which can lead to quantum leaps in resource use as groups have to be split), teacher work units (27 'lessons' per week with minimum 11 hour rest periods between workdays) and pupil learning loads (ranging from a maximum of 4 lessons per day for 7-year-olds to 8 lessons for 16-year-olds) as a concomitant of the central government's subsidising running costs through the block grants made to municipalities. Instead the Ministry, along with the various national associations of parents, teachers and students, might in principle accept a satisfactory level of performance from county or municipal systems, and allow greater regional flexibility in the selection and mix of resources. The rights and needs of students and the community ought to be able to be minded without tying up very costly educational resources in sub-optimal fixed arrangements. Why must there be such an adherence to traditional modes of control over resource inputs? The question as we see it concerns not only which level of government or which agency makes a particular educational decision but also the problem of the monitoring authorities becoming occupied with the resources put into the education system to the detriment of appraising outcomes. Such an emphasis provides strong incentive for increases in budget outlays but less incentive for improvement in the efficiency and effectiveness of services.

The desirability and possibility of experimenting at this point in time with some measures of institutional performance as a basis for allocating resources within the education system is heightened because of the U-90 effort. The working out and implementation of practicable ideas will be difficult, not least because of an understandable anxiety on the part of some of the providers. However, the potential benefits in terms of equity and value-for-money could be great, and Denmark, because of its intricate public authority relationships, its historical willingness to show a lead in social experiments and the relatively harmonious relationships among the principal educational partners, would seem to be an ideal testing ground.

In the same vein, while appreciating that there is a rationale for the existence of each of the elements comprising the current organisational structure, our view is that some could be dispensed with in the interest of manageability. We say this in full awareness of the problems of disestablishing a component part of the machinery of government. But it is most important for there to be a planning and co-ordinating capability, particularly in a period when financial resources are so tight that the very existence of some educational institutions and programmes are being questioned and where sectoral trade-offs are necessary. To obtain an effective overall view of such a complex

education system in order to give the government a firm basis for deciding how the marginal kroner is to be spent, there must be a coherent system of needs and assessment and resource allocation advice.

Our point is that in making decisions about resource allocation, the concept of opportunity costs - the alternative use of resources - must be employed and this can only be done when comprehensive planning information is available. It was not surprising that the several officials concerned with economic and financial policy to whom we spoke, and some CCE members, structured policy choices in this way in their conversations. However, most education sector people - officials and lobbyists alike, that is, those people not formally concerned with broad fiscal policy - quite reasonably advocate that from their standpoint 'more' is better than 'less'. Clearly, views based on a broad perspective - in Denmark currently one of economic constraint - will prevail since those officials presiding over budget decisions think in this framework. So, unless the education sector adopts a similar perspective or at least recognises that other sectors do, its contributions to the debate on resource allocation decisions will be minor.

The aggregate of resources available to the education sector will, of course, ultimately be determined by the cabinet. However, it would be appropriate for a single planning agency to advise the Minister on the desirable size of this aggregate and to make subsequent recommendations about allocating a given budget across branches, cycles and geographic regions of the education system, and perhaps among target groups.

Despite the lack of an accepted theoretical platform for predicting future social and economic requirements, and despite the resistance to the imposition of central government initiatives, the current Danish situation suggests to us that a positive lead from a national-level planning agency can provide vitality, sense of purpose and direction. If this is agreed, the processes of decision-making in Danish education should reflect a compatibility of such a central thrust with the 'grassroots' sentiment which makes the role of individuals in small lay and professional collectivities so significant.

'OPENNESS' IN PLANNING AND DECISION-MAKING

The traditionally unstructured methods of planning and relatively closed style of central government decision-making characterising the governance of Danish education are currently being transformed, owing largely to the role of interest groups in placing educational services under a spotlight. More structured and hence formal procedures for consultation have been devised - for example, the creation of the CCE and the Sectoral Boards. One of the signal contributions of the U-90 exercise has been to reaffirm in the consciousness of concerned

people that the way in which education is organised and managed at all levels of government is a society-wide responsibility.

The search for appropriate procedures and processes for involving various groups in hammering out decisions, particularly at the national level, is therefore a significant task. Many models exist for the sort of mechanism that could be devised. In particular, there are many points of view in Denmark on the possible composition, functions and mode of operation of the CCE, or some variant, and on how it does or might mesh with other machinery of government. In sorting through these options, a key criterion is: how can the effective and meaningful participation of client groups be obtained? For the existence of a suitable framework for collaboration among relevant professional groups and interested publics is basic to the general acceptance of formal state-sponsored educational planning in Denmark.

Participation in the planning process is only real, however, when those involved are able to influence the kind of structure and procedures to be used. Prefabricated participatory mechanisms are likely to be rejected, as lacking appropriate sources of legitimacy. Hence it is important for the main interest groups in education, including the pertinent government authorities, to have the latitude to review present arrangements, particularly those concerning the Ministry-CCE nexus, and to formally report their views and recommendations to the government.

Our vision of the planning framework that should be aimed for is one within which competing perspectives may be generally reconciled, without domination of or by specific minorities. This is dependent on how particular interests are represented. Most of the people to whom we spoke about this subject took it as given that those in charge of the education system are formally accountable to the government and that any representative body concerned with the conduct of the education system would support this line of ultimately parliamentary authority and would tap public opinion, marshal research evidence, and so on. A few people, however, posited a stranger and more directly interventionist role for an extra-parliamentary representative body, making it a sort of institutionalised 'loyal opposition' to the established machinery of government administration. Thus we sensed some understandable and, at this stage, healthy confusion about the real and ideal functions of and relationships among participatory agencies such as the CCE itself, the national-level Education Sector Boards and even the education committees of the various tiers of government.

The notion of participation, at the root of the U-90 exercise, is not necessarily antithetical to that of hierarchical relationships but does have implications for who is accountable to whom and for what. In particular, it demands that the lines of accountability are reciprocal. It was widely put to us that while the Danish system is still largely

decentralised, responsibility rests decreasingly with local-level or individual institutional units. Recent waves of administrative reform, not only in education but also in regional administration, have outwardly protected the tradition of local autonomy and the scope for broad participation. Although this has given external backing to schools (for example, in the form of advisory services that will militate against sameness through the unwitting use of identical curriculum materials), some uneasiness exists that it might also lead to centralised and unifying structures without benefit for local groups. The potential danger of central agencies - even representatives ones - overlooking the preferences of the less vocal and less influential at regional and institutional levels, ran as an undercurrent throughout our visit.

Given this situation, it seems that the way of devising a satisfactory system of open planning is to let the would-be participants develop it themselves within broad policy and administrative parameters. Such a move will require an awareness and possible redefinition of the relationships among those involved in the delivery and receipt of educational services. Consideration should be given jointly to mapping the present methods and types of participation by groups at each level and in each sub-sector of the Danish education system, and to studying the experiences of participatory planning in other OECD countries.

POLICY ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH

In deliberating on the viable ways and means of charting the development of the Danish education system over the next ten to fifteen years, we have commented on several of the major obstacles. Not the least of these is knowledge about the effects of various structures and processes. Such knowledge can be acquired almost casually through the accretion of individual experiences, or it can be the outcome of more formal policy research and analysis activity. While education policy research cannot be expected to provide instant solutions to the increasingly complex problems highlighted in U-90, we believe that such activity can identify likely directions for progress.

In our opinion, the education policy analysis and research enterprise in Denmark is both too weak and too diffuse given the sum total of resources devoted to education. Effort has been rather unevenly spread over numerous and often unrelated small projects. We sympathise with the CCE's disillusionment at the limited assistance it received from the social science research community over the two-year gestation period of U-90. All we can say is that Denmark does not stand alone in this regard. The image of education research throughout OECD countries is not high. Administrators tend to feel that its disciplinary base is relatively narrow and not quite suited to their needs. Practitioners believe that too many findings come from remote, academic

researchers and so their implications for the real world are unclear. What can be done to remedy this situation?

Two prime components of effective educational research are strong management and adequate resources. These can be productive only in a proper institutional setting. While the nature of the research programme is, of course, paramount, it is nevertheless organisational arrangements that determine how well the programme is executed. A number of structural options suggest themselves as vehicles for supporting and managing coherent, cumulative research-oriented activities designed to improve educational practice in Denmark. For example, single or multiple institutions could be established; intramural or extramural programmes could be set up in them; and expertise, marshalled either through existing or acquired additional resources, could be centrally located or geographically dispersed.

We believe that Denmark needs, for a trial period of not less than five years, a policy research and analysis agency within the compass of the Ministry of Education and reporting directly to the Minister. The establishment of such an agency would in no way prejudice the good standing of existing bodies such as the Danish Social Research Institute or the Royal Danish College of Educational Studies, nor would it limit the contribution to be made by academic staff from institutions of higher education. On the contrary, it would serve as a rallying point and a catalyst for nationwide educational research and development activities. It could inject a sense of the practical and the relevant into these endeavours.

Providing the educational research and development community in Denmark with a boost and focus would attract and retain well qualified personnel from a variety of professional and disciplinary backgrounds. It would also demonstrate the nation's commitment to education in ways other than providing additional resources in stringent times to have "a stab in the dark" or do "more of the same" because of the lack of sufficiently thought-through alternatives.

The agency would be staffed by skilled policy analysts and led by a respected researcher who, although not necessarily a career civil servant, would be accorded a status equivalent to that of a deputy permanent secretary in recognition of the collegial and complementary role to be played vis-à-vis the senior officers of the Ministry and associated Departments. The general policy guidelines of the agency would be set by a council chaired by an experienced politician or bureaucrat who would ensure that the work of the agency is not ignored at the policy-making level.

We would suggest that consideration be given to appointing a working party to investigate various options and to advise upon programmes, budgets, staffing and so on, all of which relate to the institutional

strengthening of educational policy research and analysis in Denmark. Perhaps the CCE could help in this regard, especially insofar as there is a linkage between this and the development of participatory planning schemes.

Our comments on three key matters of structure and procedure in taking the Danish education system along the road towards 1990 - governmental administrative arrangements, openness in planning, and the use of policy research - have been pitched at the level of broad principle. First, this is because we would not presume to make more than a few specific suggestions after such a brief acquaintance with Danish ways and means. Second, since the contemporary educational scene in Denmark has great significance for other OECD countries, we believe that a distillation of the principles underlying the choices of the best ways forward will be of interest beyond the Danish frontier. It now remains for us to raise some substantive issues in the form of questions that deserve reflection in the immediate future.

VII. QUESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

This report, based upon two visits to Denmark, and associated reading and conversation, has sought to highlight the major issues involved in the development of the Danish education system over the next ten to fifteen years. Our comments are made in the light of a bold and novel participatory planning exercise - U-90.

For summary purposes, and to provide a starting point for discussion at the Review Meeting, we have identified six major themes and have used this rubric to construct a set of key questions, each prefaced by an explanation of its significance. We trust that, in the open and adventurous spirit that has characterised the U-90 effort from the beginning, a representative spectrum of interested agencies, groups and individuals in Denmark will reflect on and react to these questions as a contribution to the formulation of future policies.

GENERAL POLICY

A major intention of Mrs. Ritt Bjerregaard, Minister of Education, in commissioning the U-90 report was to stimulate a national debate about educational aims and needs during the next ten to fifteen years with a view to basing educational policies for the future on firm conceptual foundations and a broad social consensus. The report has now been available for almost a year. It has been presented formally to the Folketing and widely distributed among the population.

Question 1: To what extent has the 'national debate' fulfilled expectations? Is such an ambitious procedure for generating democratic discussion now seen as effective in helping to identify issues and to pave the way for policy decisions?

U-90 proposes that there should be a fully integrated national system of education catering for all learning needs and all age groups. What are not described, however, are the machinery and the processes for administering such a system. Nor does the capacity appear to exist for advising the government and other interested parties on the relative costs and benefits of educational outlays as compared with other public sector expenditures.

Question 2: In developing a fully integrated education system, what are considered to be the appropriate machinery and processes of governance? How will the functions of the Ministry of Education, the Central Council of Education and the Sectoral Boards be affected? In particular, how might they be expected to interrelate and what might be their relationships with authorities outside the education sector?

BASIC EDUCATION

A majority of the Central Council for Education is in favour of lowering the age of entry into compulsory schooling by one year as soon as circumstances will permit. In common with a great number of educationalists and policy-makers in other countries this majority believes that all children will benefit from an earlier start in school, especially those coming from less advantaged backgrounds. There is, at the same time, a strong feeling in Denmark among many parents and some educationalists that the longer parents continue to be primarily responsible for their children's education, the better will be the outcomes. Account might also be taken of the arguments heard in other countries that if all children start school at the same earlier age then the disadvantaged ones gain nothing. If equal opportunity is the aim then disadvantaged children should receive relatively more educational provision, which might include an earlier start for them.

Question 3: Given the costs involved, the doubts about the surrender of parental responsibility and conflicting evidence about the long-term pedagogical efficacy of 'early start' programmes, what is the priority attached to lowering the entrance age into compulsory schooling?

As indicated in the previous question, there is a tradition in Denmark that the raising of children is the prerogative of parents.

Today, however, it is alleged that many parents no longer discharge their own responsibilities and at least tacitly expect the schools to assume these responsibilities on their behalf. Whether this allegation is true or not there does appear to be evidence that many principals and teachers feel that their position has become an ambiguous one. Their sense of uncertainty is curiously parallelled by that of some parents who feel that they ought to be playing a larger part in the education of their children at school but do not know how to set about doing so. It would be wrong to imply that there is a deep conflict between parental and school responsibilities, but there is undoubtedly a problem to be resolved.

Question 4: How does the Ministry of Education view the responsibilities of the schools in relation to parents' rights? What arrangements exist and what arrangements are under consideration for maintaining close co-operation between the schools and parents?

Within recent times the length of compulsory schooling has been extended from seven to nine years and streaming has been abolished along with examinations. To all intents and purposes, Denmark has instituted a common school. Despite this fundamental democratic reform, there persists a close correlation between the socio-economic background of students and their next destination at the end of compulsory schooling. A so-called 'residual' group of considerable size still quits the education system without an adequate qualification.

Question 5: What appear to be the reasons for the persistence of a large group of students who gain little formal recognition from their time in school? What measures are being and might be taken to redress this situation at the school level?

YOUTH EDUCATION

The existence of a 'residual' group has already been raised under the previous question. Here we are concerned about the fate of people in this group after they leave school. Today they are particularly disadvantaged in that the prevailing high rate of unemployment affects them more seriously than the rest of their age group. The 'residual group' problem is not peculiar to Denmark: it is germane to virtually all OECD countries.

Question 6: What steps are being taken by the Danish authorities to assist those who leave school without the requisite credentials to take up a job or to engage in further study?

In particular, what measures have been adopted to assist young people who are unemployed, how successful do they seem to be and what are to be likely further policy responses within the next twelve months?

A contentious issue among the authors of the U-90 Report concerned the integration of education and training services for the 16-19 age group. Points in dispute include what to do with the tenth year, the balance to be struck between general and vocational education, the future of the apprenticeship system, control and management of EFG (basic vocational education), the roles to be played by the Ministry of Labour, employers and trade unions and the responsibilities of the county level of governments as well as regional and local educational and training institutions. In advocating the adoption of an integrated service, a majority of the authors of U-90 simply endorse a decision already taken by the government, which introduced a proposal on the subject to the Folketing during the 1976/77 session.

Question 7: Why does the government favour the provision of integrated education and training services for the 16-19 age group? What are the obstacles to making such a provision and how is it proposed to overcome them? In particular, what future is foreseen for EFG within such a coherent framework?

HIGHER EDUCATION

On the one hand, the authorities have imposed a numerus clausus upon entrance to higher education courses and have restricted the intake to teacher training. On the other hand, it is the desire of U-90 and the declared policy of the government to widen access to the whole domain of post-secondary education so that all social groups may have an equal opportunity to participate and hence the chance to succeed. The act and the aspiration appear, on the face of it, to be inconsistent, given that the children of secure social groups traditionally perform better at school than do the children of others, and so prima facie are more easily able to jump the heightened barriers. Also, there is a demonstrable increase in parental and pupil demand for longer and more formal general education which, presumably, needs to be met from a political standpoint.

Question 8: How do the authorities reconcile the policy of numerus clausus in higher education and in teacher training with the policy of encouraging more equitable access to post-secondary education? Through what inducements and by what means is it proposed to encourage more of those who do not at present participate to take advantage of the

opportunities presented by post-secondary education and training? In particular, how can the expansion in gymnasium and HF enrolments be reconciled with the imposition of numerus clausus at the entry point to the next cycle of study?

Denmark shares in common with many OECD countries a set of critical problems relating to the supply and training of teachers and faces the particular problem of always having had, arguably, a considerable excess of teacher training institutions. In our report we have pinpointed the problem of over-supply in view of falling enrolments in the schools and stable education budgets, and the different arrangements which exist for the training of teachers at the pre-primary, primary and secondary levels (including sub-divisions for gymnasia, EFG and technical college teachers).

Question 9: In considering the supply and training of teachers what are the main problems now being faced and likely to be faced during the period up to 1990? What are the basic principles today underlying policies concerning the future role and development of the teaching service, the most expensive and valuable resource in the education system?

No one in Denmark seems to dispute that the present provision of adult education should be reviewed thoroughly. U-90 treats the education of adults as a high priority and particularly recommends that efforts should be made to arouse the interest of that large section of the population which at present has no motivation to participate in further education. The government is also on record as desiring a considerable strengthening of adult education and, indeed, when introducing U-90 to the Folketing, the Minister raised the contentious question of paid educational leave. Nevertheless, the examiners received the impression that whereas for the other educational sectors the authorities have definite, if not yet agreed to, plans, there exists no coherent view about the future development of adult education and hence no indication of whether additional resources will be made available to it.

Question 10: In what sense is adult education a high priority? Do the authorities propose to formulate an overall plan for the future development of adult education? What would be the form and function of the instruments they propose to use for strengthening its contribution to the nation's educational endeavour? In particular, what roles might be assigned to existing upper secondary and higher educational institutions? What measures might be taken to encourage the participation of those who might well be adjudged as most in need of adult education services?

TOWARDS U-90: THE PLANNING PROCESS

U-90 was asked to take a long view of the prospects for education and has convincingly pointed up the problematics of such an undertaking. It provides a range of possibilities as far as society and the economy are likely to look in the last decade of this century. Although, as it declares, it has not provided a formal plan for education to comply with this perspective it has provided an unusually comprehensive orientation which can be subjected to scrutiny. The qualitative elements upon which to base a long-term plan, and some of the technocratic ones, are contained in the Report.

Question 11: To what extent does the Minister propose to use U-90 as a framework of reference for planning educational change and development during the next ten to fifteen years? How might this planning process be organised and governed?

The Central Council of Education expresses regret, in a notable passage of U-90, at the lack of useful input that it has received from the research community. Despite the existence of several prestigious institutions which might be expected to devote resources to policy analysis and research there would appear to be no conspicuous tradition of indigenous research rendering a significant contribution to educational planning and innovation. The machinery for making such a contribution effective does not seem to exist.

Question 12: How much importance does the government ascribe to educational research and development compared with other types of publicly supported research activity? In the light of the U-90 experience what might be the outcome of further consideration of the role of and machinery for encouraging and marshalling research and development in the formulation of educational policy? Especially with reference to forthcoming planning exercises associated with the implementation of declared educational policies of the government, what kinds of research and policy analysis activities will the government promote and how might this be organised, financed and governed?

INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

U-90 reflects a great many of the ideas about and proposals for educational reform contained in national reports from other OECD Member countries and in international reports. Yet it gives only a scant indication of having drawn upon external developments.

Question 13: To what extent and by what means does Denmark take account of educational developments in other countries? How might Danish educational experience be conveyed, on a continuing basis, to the many countries which have much to learn from it?

Part Two

RECORD OF THE REVIEW MEETING

Paris, 19-20 June 1979

I

INTRODUCTION

On behalf of his fellow examiners, Professor Jochimsen pointed out that the Danish educational policy review had been a rare experience in that a group of outsiders, appointed by the OECD, had had the opportunity to participate in the planning of the nation's educational enterprise. The panel of examiners had been invited to go to Denmark in February 1977 and had prepared an interim report for the OECD Education Committee in the spring of 1977. At this stage, the planning of Danish educational policy in a broad social context had been presented in the form of an extended outline, and the examiners had been invited to comment upon it. They again visited Denmark in May-June 1978 for a period of two and a half weeks. This had also been an unusual occurrence - joining in the planning experience by talking both to the political and social interest groups within the educational sector and to individuals and organisations representing parties from outside the educational sector proper. Over every aspect of the process the examiners wished to applaud the hospitality and openness of the Danish authorities and interest groups. The cordial and direct relationships that had been established had made possible whatever little influence - in the short or long term - the OECD review might exercise on Danish education in the 1980s.

U-90 was an exercise in planning which had led to a tangible plan. For the then Minister of Education, Mrs. Bjerregaard, to have launched in 1975 a national debate designed to issue in a planning document, or perhaps even a master-plan, had been a daring act against the background of the world oil crisis and an economic recession. Few countries in the OECD world were then willing to embark on such a public adventure in educational planning with all its ramifications, many of which were unknown.

Another noteworthy feature of the exercise had been the idea of vesting an advisory body - the Central Council of Education - with responsibility for preparing the report. Embedded here and there in the report was the idea of subjugating what might be called technocratic planning to the processes of participatory planning. The intention was rather to outline a framework than to put forward detailed programme proposals.

The examiners had been struck time and again by the great similarities between the structural problems in the educational sector that the Danes were facing and those being faced in their own respective countries: the question of early schooling; what to do about the 10th year; the desire to bring in a vocational element to the last few years of the basic educational cycle and to clarify the role of the upper secondary school. This was not to deny, of course, the existence of specific Danish problems.

Mr. Bjorn Brynskov interpreted Danish background thinking about the review on behalf of the Minister of Education (Mrs. Bennedsen), who had intended to lead the delegation in person but who had been regrettably obliged to remain in Copenhagen because of the political situation. Mrs. Bennedsen tendered her apologies and asked that her hopes for a good debate be conveyed to the meeting.

Mr. Brynskov, on behalf of the Minister, began by saying that Denmark very much appreciated the importance of the OECD examination of its education system. The educational policy of a nation could benefit from being confronted with the experiences and refreshing views of other countries. It was not unusual for individual countries to take many educational-political solutions as given, even though they were far from being everlastingly effective. At any rate, there was increasingly a need to be aware of other solutions than one's own to problems that were common to several countries. Such inputs from other countries could amount to a healthy counterbalance to national inertia and to a tendency towards self-sufficiency in educational policy.

This was one of the reasons why the Danish Ministry of Education had followed the work of the OECD examiners with great interest ever since they had begun their task early in 1977. The first report of the examiners had already provided many useful proposals. The Ministry were impressed by the clarity of the second report, and especially by the determination and skill with which the examiners had made themselves familiar with the Danish education system.

The Delegation would try to answer the questions of the examiners to the best of its ability, indeed, the various sections of the Ministry had already taken note of these questions in their ongoing revision of their activities. The issues and ideas arising out of this very review meeting would give rise to a continued endeavour in Denmark to address educational-political issues in a broad perspective.

There were certain features of Danish education that made it somewhat different from education in many OECD Member countries, and that must be taken into consideration in any international exchange of experience. For example, there was no compulsory 'education'. Since the middle of the 18th century the State had adopted a liberal attitude towards private schools, which enjoyed extensive freedom and received

government grants so that parents could send their children to such schools without great financial sacrifices. A correspondingly liberal attitude also applied to adult education. In general, Danish citizens - not the State - took care of their own education, with government support.

As a result of this review Denmark might be able to contribute modestly to the educational debate in other OECD Member countries; not necessarily because the Danes were exceptionally clever but because circumstances such as the smallness of their country and certain educational traditions might offer something of value for the consideration of others.

In order to set the scene for the ensuing discussion, Mr. Brynskov gave some background information about recent political developments in Denmark, in so far as these were relevant to educational policy formation.

Denmark has had a Social Democratic minority government throughout the period during which the U-90 Report was being prepared - from May 1975 to May 1978. The fact that there was a minority government, combined with the economic recession, had restricted the scope for educational reform. This applied not only to reforms involving heavy expenditure but also to reforms that might change considerably the existing educational pattern.

In May 1978 the Folketing had held an introductory debate on the U-90 Report, which had just been published in the Danish version. During the debate a variety of views had been expressed on the future of educational policy, this being due not least to the fact that a dozen parties were represented in the Folketing. The result of this preliminary debate had been that a majority of the members of Parliament had failed to reach agreement on clear guidelines on most issues.

A change of government in September 1978 had altered the political background. A new government had been formed, consisting of thirteen ministers from the Social Democratic Party, and seven from the farmers' party. Although the government continued to be a minority one, the remaining ten parties in Parliament made up an opposition that was far from united. The most important reason for the formation of this new cabinet had been the necessity for devising an economic policy to combat unemployment and to reduce the balance of payments deficit.

Economic stagnation, or at any rate slower growth, with depressions in certain sectors of the economy and in particular youth unemployment, had obviously influenced educational practice. Thus, there was a tendency for young people to stay on in the education system, especially in upper secondary education. New courses useful for the business sector had been started, particularly for the benefit of young people out of work. Increasing importance was being attached to the relationship

between education and the community, so that, for instance, efforts were being made to improve vocational guidance to ease the transition from education to the labour market. These trends had prompted the Danish government to plan the introduction of an overall proposal to Parliament for reform of the educational provision for the 16-19 age group. Comprehensive educational reforms involving high expenditure would probably be difficult to carry through in the foreseeable future. It would probably also be difficult to carry through other reforms - for instance, changes in the organisation of the education system - or to change priorities.

Mr. Brynskov concluded by observing that while most of the matters on which he had dwelt were neither unique to Denmark nor of crisis proportions nevertheless they were worth mentioning in order to provide the Committee with a backdrop for the ensuing discussion.

II

GENERAL POLICY ISSUES

Question 1: To what extent has the 'national debate' fulfilled expectations? Is such an ambitious procedure for generating democratic discussion now seen as effective in helping to identify issues and to pave the way for policy decisions?

Question 2: In developing a fully integrated education system what are considered to be the appropriate machinery and processes of governance? How will the functions of the Ministry of Education, the Central Council of Education and Sectoral Boards be affected? In particular, how might they be expected to interrelate and what might be their relationships with authorities outside the education sector?

Lord Briggs drew the meeting's attention to the linkage between these two questions and Chapters I and II of the examiners' report. In thanking the Danish Delegation for having given an up-to-date picture of what had happened since the examiners' last visit to Denmark, he portrayed the account as a contribution to the productive dialogue that had been now continuing for three years. The new facts about both the political and economic situations were very relevant to the range of issues pertaining to the review.

The examiners were immensely impressed by the perspective of U-90, looking as it did far ahead beyond immediate difficulties and placing so much emphasis on maintaining an adequate level of education expenditure whatever might be the particular political and economic circumstances at the time. Indeed, in relation to these two general policy questions, the examiners' report noted in Chapter II, page 21, that in respect of resource allocation apparently no group concerned with the preparation of U-90 had submitted a formal case for overall education expenditure to be curtailed. This seemed an extremely important point.

Also impressive was the fact that in every part of the U-90 document values were related to facts. By raising questions about values in relation to educational policy as well as the more usual quantitative

matters, the document had managed to provide a framework for continuing discussion in a world of uncertainty and rapid change.

The way in which U-90 dealt with all respects of education at all stages of life and concentrated on the linkages among the different elements of the education system was, for the examiners, intriguing.

Chapter I of the examiners' report has been almost as ambitious an undertaking as U-90 itself, given the attempt to sum up what seemed to be some of the distinctive features of the Danish social and cultural situation as affected by the traditions of Danish history. The examiners had tried to bring out clearly a number of specifics about Denmark which must be taken into account in any evaluation of the educational policy, while noting, of course, that although many contemporary problems were common to Member countries, there were particular ways of dealing with them which could only be understood in the light of national experience.

Hence these first two questions grew very much out of the examiners' attempt to understand the overall Danish situation and to come to grips with the complex nature of U-90 as manifested in a document.

Question 1, therefore, really related to process. If U-90 was to be perceived as the beginning of an open-ended discussion about the long-term future of education in Denmark, to what extent had the particular way of setting about this enquiry - that is, by organising and promoting a national debate - fulfilled the expectations held by those who decided originally to proceed in that way? How much interest had been generated among the different sections of the Danish population? What were the factors which had influenced the elements participating in the debate? Was this procedure for debate - the opening up of a free-wheeling discussion - seen now as being an effective way of identifying the relevant issues and paving the way for future policy decisions, given that the changing economic and political situations now posed a number of special difficulties?

In formulating Question 2, the examiners were interested in a number of points about the relationship between U-90 as a prospectus covering a fairly long-term orientation and the time-table of planning decisions necessary to implement, or otherwise deal with, that which U-90 was suggesting. Having noted the impracticability, for economic and political reasons, of being ably to carry forward large-scale reform at this stage, and the value conflicts that would in any case arise if reforms were to be pushed, not to mention problems of resource availability, the examiners were asking in Question 2: given that the U-90 exercise had led to such an open-ended report, how would the role of the different agencies involved in the working out of the Danish education system be related to one another, especially the functions of the Ministry of Education, the Central Council of Education, which had

prepared this report, and the Sectoral Boards which dealt with particular domains of the educational service? Further, what might be their relationships with authorities outside the education sector - for example, the Ministry of Labour - in pursuing this participatory planning mode?

The Danish Delegation responded by remarking that a year after the publication of the U-90 Report in May 1978 it was quite clear that their expectations had been fulfilled as regards the extension and intensity of the public debate. So far more than 15,000 copies of the Danish version of the report had been distributed. A booklet with a summary of the report had attained almost the same circulation. This was regarded as a rather impressive result in a small country like Denmark, given that if population comparisons were to be made, say, with the United Kingdom, the pro-rata figures would have been about 150,000 each for the report itself and the summary.

An extended public debate had been taking place, and it was still going on. At least ten books or booklets had been published on the subject, and a considerable number of educational and political journals had commented upon the U-90 Report. The report had also featured in discussions at teacher training colleges and at some university institutes, not to forget the many study circles under the adult education scheme and the school boards on which the parents and the community were represented.

But when it came to the question whether a public debate like this one might be assessed as "effective in helping to identify issues and to pave the way for political decisions"; to quote the examiners, the answer was seen to be not so easy or straightforward.

First, the debate concerned a great many different problems. Secondly it very often demonstrated a wide variety of attitudes: for example, the U-90 Report contained a great many minority statements. Hence it was a rather difficult job to summarise and evaluate the debate in order to draw conclusions for policy decisions. The Central Council of Education had been requested to follow and evaluate the debate but its view could not be expected until early in 1980.

Some tendencies might however be discerned. During the first months following its publication, the public debate was mainly concerned with the egalitarian ideas contained in the report. As was to be expected, the political right reacted strongly against these ideas. At the other end of the spectrum the political left criticised the report because it did not advocate egalitarian ideas and their implementation strongly enough.

After the initial stage the debate provoked an ideological battle on the raising of children. To whom did children belong? To the parents or to the State, represented by the school? This ideological conflict had manifested itself in widespread resistance to lowering the age at which compulsory schooling might start.

A main issue in the debate was in fact the proposal in U-90 to set up pre-school classes with voluntary participation, and minding schemes for the youngest children attending school. These proposals seemed to have been backed up extensively, but as of today Parliament had only passed a bill on the duty of municipalities to set up pre-school classes.

Another main issue had been the proposal in U-90 to accord a higher priority to adult education. This seemed also to receive extensive backing, but the question then was whether it would be possible to obtain corresponding backing from the political parties and their representatives in Parliament. Generally speaking, the increased educational expenditure on the lower educational years and adult education advocated by the U-90 Report had won widespread acceptance, but correspondingly only few proposals for any compensatory cuts in other areas had been introduced.

Among those issues that had not been in the front line of debate were proposals for dealing with vocational training. Business circles had not shown great interest in this aspect of the report.

It was also interesting to note that a minority statement in U-90 advocating a compulsory 12-year comprehensive school had not been in the centre of the debate.

A broad conclusion for the time being seemed to be that the report had extended the public debate and led to a heightened awareness among the general public of the role of education in Denmark's future and of the need for an overall view to be set in a social context.

The Delegation was of the view that U-90 had given most of its readers a clearer picture of the education system and of the major issues surrounding it than had previously been the case, thereby assisting them to come to their own conclusions on particular matters.

The examiners, in returning to their second general policy question about the machinery and processes needed to effect an integration of the education system, emphasised the desirability of meshing long-term perspectives with the immediate steps necessary to move towards adopted goals. This raised the perennial problem of ways and means of ordering and re-ordering priorities. The Delegation pointed out that it could not be taken for granted that Denmark was to have a fully integrated system in the foreseeable future, because regard had to be paid to historical and factional interests, and to organisations having a special measure of influence on educational planning - interests and influences that might be opposed to a fully integrated system.

Nevertheless, before publication of U-90, the Ministry had been restructured in order to improve co-ordination of the main fields within the education sector. In 1974 the Ministry had been divided up into four educational directorates. The central ministerial unit was confined

to three functional sections, one of them being a section for planning, budgeting and accounting.

Shortly after this restructuring a new set of advisory bodies had been established, corresponding roughly to the directorates. The four Sectoral Boards, which began their advisory activities in 1975, followed the division of educational fields employed by the Central Council of Education during its work on the U-90 Report.

The setting up of the Sectoral Boards sprang from the wish to have an on-going debate between representatives of the various interests in educational planning - such as the Ministry, counties, municipalities, and teacher organisations. The main barrier to creating a more integrated education system was the prevailing clashes of interests, and to a lesser degree the administrative structure itself.

One of the difficulties involved in the work of the Sectoral Boards at this stage was that they lacked expertise in detailed areas. Another difficulty was that even though the Sectoral Boards were to be advisory bodies for all educational fields, in principle, irrespective of the ministerial spheres, the authorities under other ministries (e.g. Welfare and Health) might be reluctant to listen to such recommendations.

The Delegation informed the meeting that the general preference in Denmark for decentralisation and self-government set limits to the realisation of a fully integrated system. This was the price to be paid for the benefits of decentralisation, local self-government, and community influence.

The limitations of formalised, cost-effective decision-making models in situations where a multiplicity of jurisdictions and objectives prevailed were pointed out by Mr. Eide (Norway), who suggested that an institutionalised confluence of the broad judgements of interest groups, such as Parliament, was the most appropriate machinery for choosing among options. It was generally agreed that to shift entrenched patterns was extremely difficult in decentralised jurisdictions.

The conversation was then focused by Mr. Roeloffs (Germany) on ways in which compromises among competing interests and aspirations might be achieved. A case in point was the oft-quoted tension in the education sector between centrally inspired initiatives to secure equality of some kind, and peripherally inspired moves to promote diversity and hence choice.

This caused Mr. Sette (Italy) to ponder the substantive distinction in contemporary society between the concepts of compulsory schooling and compulsory education. Discussion then ensued about the increasingly voiced opinion that the education system had not lived up to the social and other goals expected of it, notably equalising of life chances.

III

BASIC AND YOUTH EDUCATION

Question 3: Given the costs involved, the doubts about the surrender of parental responsibility and conflicting evidence about the long-term pedagogical efficacy of 'early start' programmes, what is the priority attached to lowering the entrance age into compulsory schooling?

Question 4: How does the Ministry of Education view the responsibilities of the schools in relation to parents' rights? What arrangements exist and what arrangements are under consideration for maintaining close co-operation between the schools and parents?

Question 5: What appear to be the reasons for the persistence of a large group of students who gain little formal recognition from their time in school? What measures are being and might be taken to redress this situation at the school level?

Question 6: What steps are being taken by the Danish authorities to assist those who leave school without the requisite credentials to take up a job or to engage in further study? In particular, what measures have been adopted to assist young people who are unemployed, how successful do they seem to be and what are to be likely further policy responses within the next twelve months?

Question 7: Why does the government favour the provision of integrated education and training services for the 16-19 age group? What are the obstacles to making such a provision and how is it proposed to overcome them? In particular, what future is foreseen for EFG within such a coherent framework?

The meeting considered these five questions together in order to focus particular attention on the complexities surrounding the interface between that phase of schooling commonly thought to be so much the

'core' as to be made compulsory, and provision for the youth age cohort, an increasing proportion of which was engaged in some form of institutionalised educational programme.

In opening the discussion Mr. Jochimsen drew attention to the fact that Denmark had, by and large, a 10-year basic education offering, nine years of which was taken care of for the most part by the folkeskole. The U-90 Report had come out with a recommendation supported by a majority of the CCE to extend on a non-compulsory basis the period of basic education for twelve years. The extension after the compulsory 9 years should be obtained by establishing a variety of attractive educational offerings. (A minority statement recommended 12 years' compulsory education.) A body of opinion held that this should take place in a comprehensive and fully articulated educational service.

Recalling that Danish compulsory education started at the age of seven the examiners were interested in pursuing the priorities attached to formally lowering the age of entry into compulsory education.

Question 4 bore on the internal regime of the folkeskole with respect to the issue of parental participation. How might the responsibilities of the schools be viewed in relation to parents' rights? What arrangements either existed or were under consideration for involving parents in the governance of the basic cycle of education? This was seen as crucial to the way in which policy was determined with respect to such matters as performance standards, the abolition of public examinations, and the private school issue in the sense that it was a manifestation of parental choice.

The three next questions were closely interrelated, referring as they did to what happened after young people finished their first 7 or 8 years of basic education and started to get some initial impressions about working life.

A key educational policy issue, in the light of the social and economic scenarios for the next decade, not only in Denmark but in all OECD Member countries, was the formulation of an appropriate pattern of provision for the 16-19 year-old age cohort, particularly with respect to the people who constituted the 'residual group' and to that part of the curriculum which might be thought of as being 'vocational'.

Mr. Baunsbak-Jensen indicated that the Danish authorities did not attach a high priority to a lowering of the age at which the period of compulsory education should commence, although it was widely agreed in Denmark that children in small families would gain by entering a pre-school class at the age of 5, where they could engage in stimulating play and learn to live in common with other children, not being taught

'content'. This implied that any additional year at the lower end of the period of compulsory education should be staffed by specially trained kindergarten teachers. The pedagogical principle of play, not study, led away from including pre-school classes in the primary school.

Nevertheless, there was strong political resistance to reducing parental responsibility for the raising of their children in their early years. This reduced the likelihood of increasing the educational budget for such a purpose, or even of changing the 'market share' of 'early' versus 'later' education.

The examiners, through Mr. Hancock, replied that despite the low priority officially given to an earlier starting age, the fact that pre-school participation rates were increasing and that municipalities would soon have a legal obligation to make such provision if requested, meant that it was important to give serious thought to the policy rationales underlying this de facto extension. The forms of organisation and governance adopted should, for example, reflect the balance struck between pedagogical and social and economic purposes of the provision - individual development versus equal opportunity across social groups versus custodial care.

The ensuing discussion, led by Mr. Sette, stressed the administrative ramifications when municipalities were obliged to provide an educational service on demand but which was not mandatory for children to participate in. The Delegation re-emphasised that, according to law, parents and school shared the responsibility for the raising of children. The co-operation between the homes and the school was both formal (as in school boards) and informal (between teachers and parents). Attempts to strengthen this co-operation had been made over the last few years, for instance by giving increased influence to the municipal education committees and the school boards at the individual schools. The co-operation was in no way unproblematic. It took a great deal of time and interest - both on the part of teachers and parents - and there was a certain risk that parents of some children were not sufficiently interested in co-operation and, as a consequence of this, parent representation might be unbalanced. In some cases it might also be difficult for the representatives of parents to make themselves acquainted with the problems of the school and to participate in the work of the school boards on an equal footing with the professionals. Attempts were being made to further strengthen the co-operation between home and school, for instance through the publication of guides for teachers and by including the subject in teacher training. However, it was necessary to bear in mind the resource constraints: time which teachers spend on fostering co-operation must be offset against other possible uses of their time.

The discussion was then channelled into the vexing problem of how parents' opinions, in the interest group sense as distinct from parents

speaking in other roles, such as government officials or parliamentarians, could be brought to influence the train of events both at general policy and operational (i.e. individual school) levels. A related issue was the extent to which the right of parental choice in favour of the heavily subsidised private schools had implications - both positive and negative - for the effectiveness of the public school system and for reducing disparities across social groups.

A concern of the meeting about the perennial issue of 'underperforming' groups led Mr. Schmidt to point out that the so-called 'residual' group was not homogeneous. It comprised persons who had participated in various forms of general courses, for instance at continuation schools or folk high schools, single-subject adult education courses, leisure time educational activities as well as those who had not undertaken any form of post-basic education.

The delimitation of the residual group was thus to a certain extent arbitrary, and whether it was properly characterised as large should be assessed by a comparison with conditions in other countries. In Denmark, the residual group - in the strict sense of the word - made up a relatively large proportion of small private entrepreneurs in agriculture, industry and trade.

It was nevertheless clear that a considerable portion of the residual group consisted of persons with poor education or none at all, and that was often connected with other handicaps of a social, psychological, and environmental nature. The group therefore constituted a problem, which it was essential to deal with when framing social policy in the widest sense, even though it must be recognised that there were sociological factors which could only be influenced through long-term goal-directed endeavour.

The question of reducing the size of the residual group was not least related to the way in which post-compulsory courses were prepared, to entrance requirements, requirements as to age, and the inducements and guidance offered to young people. Adult education could also play a role in reducing the residual group through a number of offers, such as single-subject courses leading to an examination.

As to measures at the basic level of education aimed at maintaining the interest of young people in continued study, pupils now followed a common cycle in the primary and lower secondary school. In consultation with pupils and teachers, parents were invited to determine subjects and levels from the 8th form so that the pupils might choose the subjects that most interested them. Parents and their children also decided whether or not to sit for a public examination at the end of the 8th or 10th form.

Educational and vocational guidance had been introduced in the top forms of the primary and lower secondary school as well as trainee

periods in different business concerns with the aim of stimulating the interests of young people.

Alongside these innovations in the municipal primary and lower secondary school there were experiments both in the primary and lower secondary school and the municipal youth school with alternative courses in forms 8 to 10. In the municipal youth school such courses - during the day or the evening - had been established in almost a fifth of the municipalities in Denmark; among these courses were some of those in which the students perhaps became uninterested when they went to school, but which had proved to be indispensable to them. Attempts were being made to engage young students, tired of school, in projects that seemed engaging and of social value. The subjects also combined practical and theoretical work, thus making the elements of the many subjects included in them more acceptable. In continuation and municipal youth schools pupils were given a new environment and new classmates so that they could make a new start and have the incentive to embark on a programme that would actually prepare them for a job or further study.

The question of the extent to which the roles and goals of the education system should be subordinated to the needs, both short and long term, of the labour market was vigorously debated. There seemed to be general agreement among the participants that the system of production - and its job implications - should not be regarded as a technologically governed phenomenon beyond the control of social policy, but rather as something which could be shaped by political action and by various public sector provisions including education.

In this context, Mr. Goldschmidt outlined the four-pronged Danish youth unemployment combat plan. The first catered for young people who entered the labour market after compulsory schooling and who had no wish to continue their education within the existing educational framework. The second was for young people who dropped out from vocational training or upper secondary education. The third was directed towards graduates from educational institutions who had difficulties in finding permanent jobs. The last was concerned with the procurement of apprenticeships and traineeships.

It was recognised that measures must be introduced in the primary and lower secondary school to mitigate the ill-effects of young people being without a job for long periods after leaving school. An extension of the employment plan was currently under discussion by the Ministries of Education and Labour. It would probably contain special measures to combat youth unemployment among women, as the present measures had been more successful in reducing unemployment among the male section of the labour force than among the female section. It was also under consideration that resources from the remaining part of the employment plan should be put into additional educational and training activities.

In dealing with integrated education and training services for the 16-19 age group, the Danish education system faced its most difficult problems. Mr. Hummeluhr explained that the field was characterised by very different offerings which had largely been prepared and carried through sector by sector, one of the reasons being their different historical antecedents. Thus courses had developed independently of each other and barriers had been created which should be broken down. On the other hand, the government was not intent on actually integrating all courses for the 16-19-year-olds.

Within recent years the establishment of courses leading to the higher preparatory examination and basic vocational courses had exemplified a more flexible structure which had opened up possibilities for more coherence between courses preparing for further academic study and those aimed at vocational training. Vocational training should meet the demands for qualifications made by the productive and service sectors, and upper secondary and higher preparatory education should give specific academic qualifications. Additionally, all courses should give students a number of common qualifications as citizens, individuals, and family members. These attributes should not necessarily all be acquired in the same way, but the aims for this part of the courses ought to be the same. There was also the task of instilling more community spirit among students, for instance by letting them experience other courses.

Although it would be possible to make the structure less complicated, to obtain a more effective location of pupil and greater feeling of community through a harmonisation of rules and conditions, a number of conditions made it difficult to create a very close connection between the various offerings from the 10th to 12th educational years. This was largely connected with the fact that responsibility for the field was located in various ministries, and that the distribution of tasks between the State, labour and management and local authorities was fragmented.

There was consensus at the meeting that the way ahead for Denmark lay in a better articulation of the existing rich diversity of programme offerings for the 16-19-year-old age group rather than in the creation of new elements, that one of the main stumbling blocks was the lack of parity of esteem among these programmes, and that rather more attention should be focused on provisions within the 'core' curriculum as a prologue to youth education.

IV

ADULT AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Question 8: How do the authorities reconcile the policy of numerus clausus in higher education and in teacher training with the policy of encouraging more equitable access to post-secondary education? Through what inducements and by what means is it proposed to encourage more of those who do not at present participate to take advantage of the opportunities presented by post-secondary education and training? In particular, how can the expansion in gymnasium and HF enrolments be reconciled with the imposition of numerus clausus at the entry point to the next cycle of study?

Question 9: In considering the supply and training of teachers what are the main problems now being faced and likely to be faced during the period up to 1990? What are the basic principles today underlying policies concerning the future role and development of the teaching service, the most expensive and valuable resource in the education system?

Question 10: In what sense is adult education a high priority? Do the authorities propose to formulate an overall plan for the future development of adult education? What would be the form and function of the instruments they propose to use for strengthening its contribution to the nation's educational endeavour? In particular, what roles might be assigned to existing upper secondary and higher educational institutions? What measures might be taken to encourage the participation of those who might well be adjudged as most in need of adult education services?

In introducing this batch of questions on behalf of the examiners, Mr. Hancock sketched a likely Danish context for the formulation of adult and higher education policy - the third cycle - over the next decade. The context was thought to be remarkably similar for most OECD Member countries: changing ratios and proportions of young people; students and jobs; increasing public awareness of the tension

between what might be called the egalitarian objectives of third cycle education and a striving for academic excellence; growth of comprehensive planning in this sector and a reduction in the 'laissez-faire' autonomy of individual institutions; and a conscious shift from 'expansionist' to 'consolidatory' thinking.

The examiners had been repeatedly confronted during their visits with three major issues of concern to those interested in third cycle education. First was the growing politicisation of the field, both at the level of national policy and within individual institutions. Related to this was the matter of how the community, broadly defined, might become more seriously involved in the formulation of third cycle policy and in the governance of institutions. Finally, there was the task of striking an appropriate balance among the plethora of structures and offerings.

It was in terms of these issues, seen in the light of a particular context, that the examiners posed their three questions: Question 8 concerned the implications of imposing 'numerus clausus' in the third cycle; Question 9 focused on trends in the supply of personnel for and the development of a teaching service which might be thought of as fragmented; and Question 10 sought to elucidate the appositeness of, and plans for the future of, adult education provisions.

Mr. Goldschmidt, in conveying the Delegation's response to Question 8, expressed the view that Denmark had achieved a less disparate distribution of admissions as a result of the present quota for admission to long-cycle courses of post-secondary education in combination with rules to shape admission patterns - giving chances to others than school leavers with high examination scores. For example, occupational experiences won points and so encouraged new groups to continue in post-secondary education.

Mr. Poglia (Switzerland) commented that the growing intake to upper secondary education, and hence the presumably increased demand for the limited number of places in higher education, might cause future problems, especially with regard to the opening up of access to a wider spectrum of the community. However, upper secondary education should not, as it did today, aim so one-sidedly at long-cycle courses of post-secondary education.

The committee was interested in the details of the selection procedure whereby applicants indicated up to eight educational fields in order of priority. In some cases the preferences of applicants could not be met but they were free to apply again the following year. The numerus clausus system rested on three criteria: the results of the matriculation examination; the extent of subsequent employment or other activities; and qualifications acquired in other ways. This ensured that good examination results were not the decisive factor, and that there was a more varied student body.

Plans for further liberalisation of access to further education might seem to be at variance with the numerus clausus system. However, it was possible both to broaden and yet to limit admissions. In the longer term the Danish authorities aimed to have a system of admission with two separate groups of qualification, 'general academic' and 'special academic', whereby it should be possible to obtain general academic qualifications through the nine compulsory years of schooling, plus an additional three years of education (for instance, upper secondary education, basic vocational training). Special qualifications were defined as certain requirements that must be met in specific subjects before a student could start on a specific course of study. It was assumed that this system would also contribute to giving applicants from the traditionally less advantaged social groups improved opportunities while at the same time contributing to a dampening of the growth in the intake to regular upper secondary education.

Such liberalisation of access must ultimately lead to changes in the numerus clausus system, especially the distribution of the quota on individual fields of study, and it was thought that the basic structure of the entire system was sufficiently flexible for changes to be introduced incrementally, based on an accumulation of experience.

Mr. Roeloffs (Germany) emphasised the importance of these measures if the imposition of numerus clausus was not to lead to the entrenchment of what might be thought of as an hereditary meritocratic elite. Mr. Roeloffs added that the very nature of traditional higher education curricula was called into question by such a policy. Were 'different' types of students supposed to follow identical or different modes of study?

Mr. Sette (Italy) observed that it would be important to know to what extent the imposition of numerus clausus did in fact alter the preferences of students aspiring to higher education.

Mr. Lundin (Sweden) questioned whether numerus clausus put too much responsibility on the labour market in terms of finding jobs for those who were not admitted to higher education - a sort of job guarantee. The view was advanced that the opportunity to study in a 'free zone' sector of higher education was preferable to being unemployed, and took unnecessary pressures off the labour market.

As far as one sector of post-secondary education was concerned - teacher education - the Delegation agreed that the examiners had pinpointed a set of problems resulting from the very large number of teacher education institutions of widely different kinds. Teacher preparation courses were strongly aimed at specific levels of the education system, and even though they shared many things in common in terms of content, differences were more striking. These differences were reflected in variations in salaries and conditions of service within

the various levels, and as a result the opportunity for transition from one part of the education service to another was very small. This implied a risk of developing closed sub-systems and also increased the difficulties of students wishing to move from one type of provision to another. Remedial action had been hindered by fixing the enrolment capacity of individual institutions and by the limited possibilities for transferring staff.

The decisions to be made in connection with the education of the 16-19 age group influence the considerations regarding teacher training.

Mr. Baunsbak-Jensen expressed a preference for making the present system more flexible so that it would be easier for teachers (and students) to transfer from one sector to another. Some experiments were already in progress. For a country with a relatively small population, Denmark had a large number of training colleges. Even though there had been a vigorous cut in admission - 35 per cent from 1974 until today - none of the 29 colleges had been closed down. This resource-consuming policy was first and foremost an expression of the wish for a strong devolution to regions.

However, the Danish authorities recognised that they would soon have a considerable surplus of trained teachers, irrespective of cuts in the intake to teacher training colleges and despite a progressive improvement of teacher usage standards. Nevertheless, many circumstances - both inside and outside the primary and lower secondary school - might change the outlook. New educational fields and a breaking down of the barriers between the individual teacher training courses might improve the employment outlook.

Mr. Poglia (Switzerland) queried how, in fact, teachers were going to be suitably prepared to cope with these demands. This led the Danish representatives to express particular concern about two specialist elements of the teaching service. The first group was made up of teachers in the 16-19 age group. Generally speaking, teachers in upper secondary schools and teachers at higher preparatory courses had a university training that was not specially geared towards the teaching profession and had supplemented their academic degree with education theory and practice. The teachers in vocational training were recruited on the basis of occupational experience but here also there was a separation of specialised content and education theory and practice.

The second was that group of teachers who dealt with general leisure education for adults and who had widely different backgrounds. Most of these teachers worked on a seasonal basis or on overtime. The field was heavily decentralised, and two-thirds of the teaching was arranged by the private sector, which trained its own teachers.

The discussion of the preparation of teachers in the field of adult education was set in a wider context by Mr. Baunsbak-Jensen, who explained why it was that adult education in Denmark had a high priority. The Danes attached great cultural and educational importance to popular enlightenment through liberal studies and the local initiatives it was based upon. In view of the expansion that had taken place in the other areas of education since the beginning of the 1960s, the authorities realised that a great portion of the adult population had an educational deficit. In the current situation this meant that if there were to be general cuts in public spending, adult education should be protected as far as possible.

Because of the importance attached to this field, the Delegation was particularly interested in the examiners' questions. This led to a debate about whether general adult education continued to be dynamic, having been founded more than a century ago and being promoted by many different groups. The number of participants in general adult education - in all 'practical' subjects such as needlework, languages, history, philosophy and social sciences - had increased steadily. Enrolments had now reached 20-25 per cent of the adult population per year; 60-70 per cent of the education was arranged by private interest groups and the number of these was constantly on the increase.

The Danish Delegation felt that it would be both wrong - and politically impossible - to implement an overall plan. General informal adult education had great cultural importance and contributed towards motivating many people to participate in more formalised education aiming at vocational qualifications. Local initiatives were probably better than outreach activities to make those interested who would otherwise be inclined not to participate.

The Danish Educational Council for Youth and Adult Education was actively engaged in a general review, but there was no detailed or long-term plan for the field of general adult education. However, over the last few years there have been attempts to go a step further in establishing more formalised education. Thus courses have been offered leading to an examination at the primary and lower secondary school-leaving level, and at the higher preparatory level where students might choose individual subjects according to their own wishes. The intake to these courses, which were administered by the counties, had been high and consideration was being given to introducing something similar in connection with the courses leading to the upper secondary school leaving examination. Occupational training courses were also administered by the Ministry of Labour, and furthermore courses were organised by management and trade organisations.

The examiners specifically asked about the role in adult education played by Danish institutions within upper secondary and higher education. The Delegation replied that recently there had been an opening

up of opportunities for access to persons who wanted to follow individual courses at universities and institutions of higher education. There were also plans for outside persons who needed supplementary education to 'order' special courses at these institutions. But so far these courses had not been formalised and they did not confer qualifications. The same applied to university extension courses, which had existed for 75 years. The main task of these courses was to disseminate research results to the public by arranging leisure-time education all over the country. Vocational training schools also contributed to the supplementary training of adults, and primary and lower secondary schools were open to adult education intitiatives. (Many school rooms were booked up on weekdays from 8 a.m. to 10 p.m.)

The Danish authorities were concerned with the problem of encouraging the participation of those who might well be adjudged as most in need of adult education services. Competition was, of course, keen from the entertainment industry, which offered an 'easy way out'. For a number of years adult education courses had been offered at a very low price for participants (the size of this fee was incidentally a politically controversial issue).

Another major question was that of paid educational leave. According to the agreements in force, a limited portion of the hourly wages had been earmarked for the training of shop stewards and other wage earners.

In the discussion on adult education, reference was made to current experiments with 'reaching-out' activities, and to adult education centres which had been established in several parts of the country.

V

THE PLANNING PROCESS

Question 11: To what extent does the Minister propose to use U-90 as a framework of reference for planning educational change and development during the next ten to fifteen years? How might this planning process be organised and governed?

Question 12: How much importance does the government ascribe to educational research and development compared with other types of publicly supported research activity? In the light of the U-90 experience what might be the outcome of further consideration of the role of and machinery for encouraging and marshalling research and development in the formulation of educational policy? Especially with reference to forthcoming planning exercises associated with the implementation of declared educational policies of the government, what kinds of research and policy analysis activities will the government promote and how might this be organised, financed and governed?

Issues of structure and procedure in both planning and management were introduced by Mr. Austin. The very sophistication and complexity of Danish society, and of the demands made upon its education system, seemed to the examiners to make a compelling case for comprehensive educational planning, given the economic and social prognoses for the 1980s.

Consideration was given to the several ways of looking at the need for, and possibilities of, educational planning: by level within the education system; by level within a hierarchy of governments; by sector within any particular level of government; or by type of institution.

The meeting noted that Denmark, like many OECD Member countries, was being faced simultaneously with pressures both for more local autonomy in the public policy arena and for increased accountability. In the education sector, where most resources were generated centrally, this could lead to apparent conflicts.

The discussion then turned to the question of participation - how? by whom? There was particular interest in ways and means of

strengthening the role of the educational research community, especially in so far as contributing to policy analyses was concerned.

Mr. Brynskov related how a debate among politicians, administrators, and educationalists - about the ideas contained in the U-90 Report - was now in progress. The report was intended to start such a debate in order to facilitate the planning of education in accordance with the attitudes held by broad segments of the population. Therefore, before the U-90 Report was adopted as a framework of reference for what might be called the operational phase of planning, the results of the debate should be assessed.

There were obviously different views of the applicability of U-90 as a framework for Denmark's educational planning. The Ministry, i.e. the Department and the Directorates, had studied the U-90 Report and were now following the debate and reflecting on it. He expected that in the course of 1980 it would be possible for the Ministry to evaluate the entire U-90 process - with the help of its advisory bodies - and to consider the reforms to which it might lead.

The Delegation emphasised that reform could not and should not be brought to a standstill while the U-90 Report was being debated. For example, Parliament had recently passed an act making it a duty for municipalities to set up pre-school classes in agreement with the first step in the majority recommendation in U-90. It had also passed an act on changes and improvements in educational aid. In all essentials this act was in agreement with the first stage in the recommendation made by a majority in the CCE in continuation of the work on the U-90 Report. Another important area where action had to be taken in the near future was the 10th to 12th years of schooling. The government would soon introduce in Parliament a proposal on coherent reforms for this level. In doing so, the U-90 Report and the ensuing public debate would be taken into account.

The Committee was told by the Delegation that the input of research for the preparation of the U-90 Report was somewhat disappointing, and there had been a similar disappointment as regards the general contribution of research to central educational planning. The gap between planners and researchers was too wide. From the point of view of planners, research was too slow. Nevertheless, government support for educational research and development was relatively abundant. This especially held true in the basic school area, where there were specialised institutes. Some university institutes were also actively engaged in educational research. On occasions special funds had been allocated by the Ministry to research institutes for background analyses aiming at educational planning.

It was generally thought that at the micro-level research was utilised in educational decision-making but that difficulties were more

noticeable on the macro-scale, that is, in connection with the central planning of the Ministry.

Regarding machinery to stimulate and manage educational policy analysis, while there was no distinct unit as such, the statistical unit of the Ministry had been strengthened during recent years so that it was able to contribute to the process of educational planning by supplying relevant data. Similarly, the National Bureau of Statistics had developed relevant documentation. On occasions the Ministry had organised research in order to follow and evaluate the planning and accomplishment of new activities. And a special group of researchers and planners had been organised in connection with educational activities for the unemployed youth.

There was consensus that the absence of a formal body for the formulation of research problems of relevance to planning and follow-up was a hindrance to further development.

The whole question of the contribution of research to policy was seen as a vexed one and the Delegation looked sympathetically on the idea of establishing for a trial period some type of policy-research unit within the Ministry.

VI

INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

The meeting used this question about bringing international experience to Danish planning and offering Danish experience to other countries as a basis for making a general commentary about the value of a U-90 type of exercise in forward planning.

The examiners saw U-90 as providing a framework of reference for the planning process, a launching pad for debate - not as a technocratic exercise in producing plans. U-90 was an intermediate product of this planning process: intermediate in the sense that it was a summing up of the state of the discussion in the Danish Central Council of Education as of 1978. It need never be that this summary was formally approved or disapproved of: it would continue to evolve. In a planning process the accent must be on process and on looking for organisational devices, for research help, for data bases and of course also for registering feedback from interest groups, political parties, Parliament, and so on.

The Delegation felt that U-90 reflected a great many ideas and proposals that were prevalent in other countries, especially in the OECD area and the Nordic countries. While this influence from abroad had not been referred to explicitly in the U-90 Report, it nevertheless existed. It was exerted, consciously and otherwise, through many channels: orally, via journals on educational policy, through international organisations. On the other hand, a small country like Denmark had a certain potential for decentralisation and self-government in education, and for a coherence in the education system which might lead to experience of interest to other countries. In recent years Denmark had endeavoured to publish the main features of its educational planning in foreign languages, and to participate in international educational deliberations (such as the OECD country reviews).

Part Three

INTERIM OUTLINE OF THE U-90 PLAN
and
REPORT ON THE EXAMINERS' FIRST VISIT IN DENMARK

I

INTERIM OUTLINE OF THE U-90 PLAN

INTRODUCTION
THE PLACE OF THE VARIOUS FORMS OF EDUCATION WITHIN SOCIETY AND THE ROLE OF U-90 IN THE DEBATE ON EDUCATION

Every society must ensure that the 'next generation' is given ample opportunities to develop the knowledge, skills, patterns of behaviour, attitudes and ideals required in order that it may function effectively and continuously develop. To a far greater extent than societies in the past contemporary industrial societies endeavour to achieve these objectives by means of the formalised public systems of education and training that have become a vital supplement to other possibilities of experience and activity to be found elsewhere, notably in the home and at work. As a consequence of the tremendous dynamism of industrialised societies, it has become necessary for the 'next generation' quickly to be able to find its bearings and adapt itself to new situations instead of simply following in the footsteps of the preceding generation. This dynamism creates uncertainties and tensions both between generations and between the various social groups and imposes new demands on adult education.

The education system must play its part in preparing young people to cope with the four main aspects of life:

- family life (relations with the opposite sex, children and the older generation);
- leisure (the ability to get on with others during leisure hours and to profit from the 'cultural' facilities provided by the community);
- working life and participation in trade, commerce, industry and the production system (an essential part of the life of the individual);
- life within the community (social interaction with others and participation in the political life of the community in the broadest sense of the word).

These four aspects of life are not intended to be exclusive or rigid. Rather they provide a framework for a debate about goals which will be comprehensible to the ordinary reader of this report. As yet, the Central Council of Education has by no means clarified its own views on the proper use of leisure time, participation in community life and so on.

It is important that the interconnection between the four facets of life should be taken into account in the educational process. At the same time, it is hardly realistic to expect equal allowance to be given simultaneously to all four facets in every learning situation.

By definition vocational courses contain a very strong vocational element whereas in higher secondary schools and folk high schools the vocational element is very small. Preparation for family life and life within the community have traditionally been neglected throughout the education system. It is accordingly essential that a more adequate balance should be established.

Keeping this aim in view U-90 must evaluate the entire education system in the light of anticipated social developments in the nineties and proceed to the formulation of pertinent goals and discussion of the reforms that seem necessary in order to attain them.

In earlier versions of the working plan, a classification for treating the goals of the education system was constructed. According to this the various forms of education were evaluated on the basis of their importance as seen from the viewpoint of the pupils, as a consumer product for pupils and parents, their function as a place of work for teachers, and finally seen in relation to the social distribution of educational opportunities. The working group is basing its work on a classification system operating with a division into goals, means and the groups involved.

This introductory section must be directly related to the section concerning future educational problems.

DESCRIPTION OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

The first chapter will take the form of a brief sketch of the increase in the consumption of resources by the education system over an extensive period, at least as far back as the thirties and possibly going as far back as 1900. To these brief intimations future growth tendencies at calculated anticipated costs (in millions of D.kr. as a percentage of GNP and total public expenditure) should probably be added. Costs borne by the State, municipalities, trade and industry (employers) and private individuals should be included. Anticipated costs must therefore be based on rough estimates.

/The Secretariat in co-operation with the Economic Statistics Department is preparing a first draft of this chapter/.

Chapter 2 will describe the main structural changes, especially over the past twenty years, including the radical differentiation of the entire system and the large number of innovations at intermediate and other levels.

Adult education and further education will be included here as parts of the education system which are likely to expand.

It will be important to give not only a chronological account, but at the same time to point to the interrelationship between concurrent social and economic development and the reforms that have been carried out.

Mention should also be made of the most important educational innovations.

/The Secretariat has prepared a draft of this chapter./

/As far as adult education is concerned, the Sector Council for this area is working on a description. It is being considered whether this work ought to form the basis of a special chapter concerning adult education in U-90./

/The investigation of educational activities within firms and organisations has been more clearly defined by a working group made up of representatives from the Central Council of Education, the Federation of Danish Employers and the Danish Association of Trade Unions. Work on the final drafting of the report on the investigation will not take place until negotiations between the Danish Association of Trade Unions and the Federation of Danish Employers concerning a number of practical aspects have been concluded./

Chapter 3 will provide a brief analysis of the present situation - probably taking the year 1976 - particularly aimed at mapping out the structure of the following areas:

- pupils/students distributed according to age group/level and type of education; adult education is to be included here;
- the breakdown of the teaching corps distributed according to the various categories of pupils/students;
- a similar breakdown of running costs per student year;
- accumulated or total costs in the course of an individual's education (the cost of education on the basis of an individual completing his or her education).

One of the purposes of this chapter will be to provide documentation to demonstrate the fundamental inequality prevailing with regard to the accessibility of educational opportunities. The existence of residual or

marginal groups still remains despite the very considerable developments which have made it possible for more and more individuals to profit from the increased educational opportunities that have become available.

/The Economic Statistics Department in co-operation with the Secretariat are preparing a first draft of this chapter./

Chapter 4 will consider how the distribution in the flow of students and pupils has come about. Central control exists only to a very limited extent. The establishment of various branches and levels of education is, of course, a type of control. A decisive factor is that whereas some forms of education are bound by certain qualifications, others are less restricted and will remain so for some time. Apart from this, the following factors are important:

- the financial position of parents;
- the socio-cultural status and educational traditions of parents - linguistic barriers, etc.;
- parents' ambitions for social advancement;
- attitudes of teachers and schools towards different categories of pupils and students;
- advantages which it is expected will be gained from certain types of education (income, social position, interesting and congenial work, etc.);
- geographical considerations;
- innate differences in the abilities and physical constitutions of students and pupils.

An analysis of the reasons for, or causes of, the existence of the residual group must naturally form part of this chapter. Elimination of some of the widespread misunderstandings of innate differences of intelligence would appear to be expedient.

/The Central Council of Education has requested a staff member of the Institute of Social Research to prepare a draft of this chapter./

Chapter 5 will investigate the Danish system of teacher training. How many teachers participate in further education programmes and to what age groups do they belong? To what extent and in what ways does the composition of the teaching corps determine the social orientation of the system, and how great is the influence of teachers on the content of education and the structure of the education system?

/The Economic Statistics Department is preparing a draft of the first part of the chapter concerning statistical information on the teachers, their background, the breakdown of the teaching corps according to age, etc. As far as the social background and the recruitment of teachers is concerned, assistance has been requested from the Royal Danish School of Education, Roskilde University Centre and several other institutions.

In the second part of this chapter concerning the importance of the teaching corps for the social orientation of the system, and the importance of the teaching corps for innovations within the system either as a retarding or stimulating element, the Royal Danish School of Education has prepared a first draft./

Chapter 6 will look at the existing physical framework - the buildings and the interior of these buildings, the structure of the school system seen from a geographical point of view, etc. - as an inhibiting or restrictive factor in the possible development over the next 10-20 years. This is true not least of the size, number, capacity and layout of classrooms.

/The task of preparing a first draft of Chapter 6 has been assigned to the Directorate for Building. This chapter is to include a description of the condition of school buildings./

Chapter 7 will describe the most important tendencies within the field of educational theory during recent years. Included among these will be:

- project work;
- control by class participants;
- division of classes into independent groups;
- interdisciplinary work;
- learning to learn;
- a harmonious environment;
- social studies/civics;
- reduction in the number of subjects taught;
- field work/practical job training;
- orientation towards the local community;
- employment of the inductive method;
- employment of educational technological teaching aids.

Besides describing these tendencies this chapter will point towards proposals for reform to be contained in later chapters. Without providing a complete and systematic survey, it will also show the main innovations and ascertain how far they have been instituted and to what extent they are related to social changes in general.

/The subject matter of this chapter was chosen as the topic for discussion in one of the study groups at a conference of research workers. This discussion was mainly concerned with the changes there have been from control by teachers to control by class participants, from individual or personal endeavour to group work, from single subject work to interdisciplinary studies and from curriculum and syllabus to project work.

The Royal Danish School of Education has prepared a proposal for a first draft of this chapter./

Chapter 8 will survey existing plans, planning in progress and proposals for reform. The chapter will be divided into the following sections:

- structural reforms (innovations, changes in the structure of the system);
- reforms concerned with content (changing qualification demands; the aims and methods of education, including problems related to evaluation);
- reforms of control (the distribution of responsibility: State, county, municipality, teacher, parent, pupil);
- rationalisation (a more efficient use of available resources).

/This chapter will be prepared by the Secretariat on the basis of material from the meeting of the Central Council of Education in September 1976, where the head of the planning section and the directors of the various directorates within the Ministry of Education gave an account of plans for reform within their respective areas.

Apart from this, a number of organisations have been requested to send in whatever ideas and considered thoughts about reform they may wish to have discussed. Furthermore, the Secretariat will be in contact with the Ministry adviser for international affairs with a view to including experiences from other countries./

Chapter 9 will contain a description of the generally and officially accepted teaching methods and goals within the main sectors of the education system, arranged according to the classification system outlined in the introduction. It will also contain an analysis of the historical, social, political and educational origin or background of currently accepted goals and methods.

/The Central Council of Education has asked the Institute for Danish School History of the Royal Danish School of Education to prepare a draft of this chapter.

It is proposed that this draft should be debated in all the sector councils together with Chapter 10./

Chapter 10 will seek to answer the question: To what extent are the declared aims and the ideologies that they are based on in fact realised within the present education system, and, in those cases where they have not been completely realised, what are the reasons?

A large number of factors are of importance for the realisation of the aims formulated for the education system:

- the degree to which goals have been worked out in detail;
- the attitude, knowledge and skills of the various groups (pupils/students, teachers, parents, etc.);

- the structure of control and administrative systems (centrally, locally, and 'in the classroom' itself);
- economic and other physical conditions;
- developments within the field of teaching aids and teaching materials.

This chapter will describe the problems involved in reaching various goals within the education system and, in doing so, point towards the formulation of proposals for reform advanced in the last chapters.

/The Central Council of Education has asked the Royal Danish School of Education to prepare a draft of this chapter. The draft will contain a proposal for a detailed investigation of the teaching of English in the primary schools and at commercial schools, in order to give a concrete example of the way in which educational goals are reached in practice./

Educational Problems of the Future

This part, which will be the pivot of U-90, is to contain a critical analysis and systematic arrangement of the tasks which the Central Council of Education will propose should be assigned to the education system.

As already stated ends and means cannot be seen in isolation from one another. In this section, therefore, the means which are necessary if the ends are to be achieved will also be analysed and systematised as well as the connection between the various parts of the education system.

It is in this section of U-90 that the proposals for reform will be specified. Such proposals can be made at one or a number of levels:

- A prognosis could consist of a mere calculation of likely results of tendencies within the existing system. Such a prognosis must be contained in U-90 but U-90 must go still further.
- An account of future perspectives could illuminate the consequences of various alternative purposes and intentions. Again, U-90 must go further.
- A final plan will contain concrete proposals for decisions concerning the education system throughout the period for which plans are being made, together with an estimate of the probable consequences deriving from them.
- Furthermore, a planning system must contain proposals for a structure within which continual planning can take place.

As the education system and general developments within the rest of society are interdependent, autonomous educational planning cannot take place.

In order to ensure a proper connection with developments in the rest of society, the following chapters must at all times emphasize relations with society in general and especially with the labour market.

Chapter 11 will contain an account of the Central Board's conception of the society of the future and the conditions likely to prevail in it since this must be the natural starting point for any attempt at formulating a relevant and progressive complex of ends and means that can serve as a basis for a debate about the reform plans for the eighties. The only possible solution seems to be to attempt, on the basis of known tendencies, to identify such innovations or changes as seem likely to prevail. This chapter will fall naturally into two parts: general developments within society and problems of growth.

At their meeting in October 1976, the Central Council of Education established a discussion group to deal with the problems of general social development. The group consists of members of the Central Council of Education together with a number of specialists with particular knowledge of and interest in the problems of social development. It is expected that this group will submit an account of its deliberations which will form a basis for discussion in the Central Council of Education.

With respect to problems of growth it will be of especial interest to try to evaluate:

- the changed balance between the industrialised countries and the rest of the world;
- the probable duration of the present depression in the industrialised countries;
- the philosophy of zero growth;
- the scarcity of resources;
- the special Danish situation of a very adverse balance of payments.

On the basis of this an estimate will be made of tendencies within the structure of the labour market and developments within trade, industry and commerce, and of the possibility of financing expansion within the public services sector - including the education system.

/The Central Council of Education have requested the Budget Department to prepare a draft of the first part of the chapter./

Chapter 12 will attempt to identify goals and intentions with regard to the educational policy of the nineties. It must be linked closely with the systematisation of ends and means presented in the introduction. Furthermore, this chapter must be seen as arising naturally out of the problems raised in the more descriptive opening chapters - especially the chapter concerned with recent trends in educational theory.

The chapter will fall into three main sections:

- Higher priority to equality as an educational goal.
- New goals with regard to socialisation.
- Changed demands with regard to qualifications.

1. Higher priority to equality as an educational goal

The system of public education is in principle based on equal and free admission for everybody. This creates opportunities but also problems. The fact that, formally, education is open to all has not in reality led to equal opportunities for all because, for one thing, only tuition is free. Tuition is only one part of the costs involved: other costs still have to be defrayed by the individual. This raises the question of financial support for those receiving education.

Furthermore, there are still a number of unsolved problems concerning inequality related to access to further education and the marking system.

The economic mechanisms surrounding an approach to greater equality within the field of education are complex. In the description of these mechanisms both national economic factors as well as factors relating to industry and trade and the economic situation of private individuals must be taken into account.

From the point of view of the national economy, total educational resources are limited. It is therefore necessary to economise to the greatest extent possible.

That part of the educational effort which enables students later on to become useful working members of a modern society must necessarily be structured with a view to satisfying the needs of trade, industry and commerce, highly differentiated and ever changing as these needs are. This raises the question of differences in the specialised content, the level and the quality of the various forms of education, and the adjustment or regulation of the number of students admitted to the various forms of education.

From the financial point of view education constitutes an initial capital for the individual, which provides a considerable part of the basis of his later existence. These gifts from society to the individual have traditionally been very unequally distributed, and it is desirable that they should be more equally and equitably distributed in future. There is only limited information available concerning the correspondence between total earned income in the course of a working life and education, although there is a clear tendency towards longer education correlating with larger total income.

/The Central Council of Education has asked a member of the University of Copenhagen to assist them in preparing this draft. A series

of relevant seminars will be held during the course of the spring term 1977 at the University of Copenhagen with the participation of a number of economists. The subject under discussion will be 'Educational Economy'./

Within the field of education, the mechanism of supply and demand functions partly in that trade and industry demand persons with specific qualifications, partly in that students demand (desire) specific types of education, and partly in that the public sector controls the supply of education, at the same time demanding persons with a large number of specific specialist skills and formal qualifications.

The social heritage, understood as the different skills, habits and customs, attitudes and values with which the individual meets the education system from the start and later on too, largely influences both the way the individual will proceed through the system and the benefit he is likely to reap from it.

The aim must be an orientation of the education system towards contributing towards a reduction of the inequalities that exist as a consequence of social heritage, and via that to furthering a development within society towards greater social equality.

With this background an educational policy aiming at equality must find its bearing vis-à-vis various goals:

a) Formal equality (equality before the law, equal right of access).
b) Real equality (social heritage, financial equality, students' grants).
c) Equality of resources (the same amount of resources to all groups).
d) Equality of results /all reach the same level of qualification (but how far is reached in the system?)/.
e) Education towards equality (aims for desired attitudes in those receiving education).

/The Central Council of Education has asked a member of the University of Copenhagen to assist them in preparing this draft. A series of relevant seminars will be held during the course of the spring term 1977 at the University of Copenhagen with the participation of a number of economists. The subject under discussion will be 'Educational Economy'./

Educational inequalities:

In a number of fields there is no mutual consistency between the different aims of the various sections of the education system. A comparison of educational methods employed at the gymnasia (upper secondary schools) and schools concerned with vocational training will

show that the employment of different educational methods in the two types of schools in itself leads to inequalities between the two groups of pupils involved. Similar differences are in evidence elsewhere within the system.

A section dealing with these educational inequalities must analyse to what extent these differences are determined by tradition, by social differences (contrasts and/or conflicting interests) within the community, or whether they reflect different cultural traditions.

In this section there must be included an evaluation of mutually incompatible educational goals (e.g. self-assertion and competitiveness as opposed to co-operation and willingness to help others). Furthermore, this section must contain an analysis of some commonly used school books, written instructions and directives for teaching, and the elements of the educational and didactic training within the various types of teacher training.

/It is proposed that a relatively small group be set up to prepare a draft of a special section dealing with educational inequalities./

2. New goals with regard to socialisation

This section will discuss among other things the training of the critical ability which takes place in the schools, and the various attitudes towards the system of values and ethical norms that is fundamental in society.

In this context the problems raised by the debate on indoctrination must be discussed. What attitudes and ideals are the schools to emphasize. Here, too, the 'four lives' will be a possible approach:

Life in the family:

- sex roles and conflicts arising from the 'generation gap';
- the structure of the family;
- tolerance.

Life during leisure hours:

- freedom to associate with others;
- creative activities;
- physical activities.

Life in society:

- the political system;
- the third world;
- the class struggle and conflicts related to vested interests.

Life at work:

- the right of ownership and participation in the decision-making process;
- job satisfaction.

In addition to these there must be an approach of a religious and ethical nature:

- Christianity;
- other religions;
- humanism.

More than in the education system of today, U-90 will emphasize the function of men and women as social beings rather than a purely free and independent individuals.

Problems concerned with starting school will be given special consideration in this section - language teaching (Danish) is of central importance here. Language as a means of communication, language as a limiting social factor and as an inhibiting factor in progress towards greater social equality. How early should these problems be tackled? Before school? The composition and attitudes of the teaching corps will also be important topics in this section.

/It is proposed that the group concerned with Project Starting School prepare a draft of the section about language for school starters.

It is further proposed that a small group (2-3) of members of the Central Council of Education, possibly together with others, prepare a draft of this chapter./

3. Changed demands with regard to qualifications

Taking as a starting point the division of the individual's life into family life, leisure, working life and social life, this section will describe the changes in demands with regard to qualifications caused by prevailing conceptions of the society of the future.

Among other things, this section will contain a discussion of the possibilities of developing general skills which can be employed in more areas than those limited by the traditions of the present labour market, such as precision in carrying out one's work, methodological ways of working, precision and meticulousness (few errors, low consumption of materials), the ability to adapt to new kinds of work, a stable working rhythm and an ability to co-operate.

A number of the demands with regard to qualifications latent in recent schools of educational theory are crystalised here: problem-solving, the qualities necessary for being a member of a group, participation in the decision-making process, etc.

There must be a discussion of shifts and changes in the distribution of traditional trades. Will we need a vocational training system classified according to trades in 1990?

Qualifications in manual work are required with a view to enabling the individual to appreciate and respect 'real craftmanship' and to practise these skills during leisure hours (the 'do-it-yourself society').

To an increasing extent the citizen needs qualifications enabling him to take part in the life of the community. As a consequence of this, there must be a discussion about what priority should be given to this as a way of providing adequate scope for the activities of the individual.

A discussion must take place about the best way to achieve a proper balance between those qualifications that are obtained from basic schooling and those which, with advantage, can be reserved for adult education.

A number of the qualification demands suggested in Chapter 7 concerning recent trends in educational theory finally comes to expression here: the ability to solve problems, to be able to work together with others in groups, participate in the decision-making process, etc.

/It is proposed that a small group, e.g. two or three members of the Central Council of Education, possibly together with others, prepare a draft for this section./

Chapter 13 will examine the means available for the changed goals of educational policy. In the introductory section the relations between ends and means have been described. It appears from this description that ends and means must necessarily be viewed as interdependent. However, if the new goals are to be realised, it is necessary to look at the practical consequences for curriculum content, educational methods and the teaching aids employed within the various forms of education. It is further necessary to review the consequences for their structure and control with regard to educational methods and resources. In this chapter, therefore, the practical consequences of the changed goals formulated in Chapter 12 will be described.

Both changed demands with regard to qualifications and new aims for the process of socialisation and a higher priority given to equality will influence the content of the various forms of education. A number of traditional elements will give way to new elements. The main tendency will be towards making subject matter more relevant. The concept of 'liberal education' must be made more concrete in the light of its significance in relation to the four lives. A consideration of the co-ordination of the content of upper secondary education will become of central importance.

In the new curricula a proper balance must be found between knowledge, skills and attitudes on the one hand and theoretical, practical and creative elements on the other.

The 're-training' and re-orientation of teachers will be of the greatest importance if the change of content is to become effectual. This is true for professional knowledge as well as attitudes.

New aims for the process of socialisation will influence educational methods. In relation to this, Chapter 7, which deals with recent trends in educational theory, will naturally be followed up by concrete proposals in this section. However, a policy giving higher priority to equality will also have consequences for educational methods. On the one hand, special teaching for special groups is called for, which involves a relatively highly individualised type of teaching. On the other hand, education with a greater emphasis on equality will often demand a common framework for everybody, and individualised teaching will be problematical.

The teacher's liberty to choose his own teaching methods will be a problem in this section. The problems around this must be clarified.

The section on teaching aids has a very direct connection to the previous section concerning educational methods. However, a number of problems related to the realisation of new goals are best described by considering teaching aids.

The employment of the means of mass communication within the education system must be central to this description. Radio and television are especially important, notably within the field of adult education, if more equal opportunities are to be given to the different generations.

In connection with the description of the society of the future, this section must deal with a change in the proportion between the written (printed) word, the spoken word (e.g. sound tapes), pictures (by reproduction and other means of visual aids) and other sense impressions.

The role of technical teaching aids in education must be discussed in view of the changed objectives. In this connection, individual teaching via multi-media systems (e.g. computerised systems) must be described. Such teaching will especially be useful in relation to the support that will be necessary for special groups, in helping to further the cause of equality, and to meet specific demands for qualifications in a rational way.

It is particularly the higher priority to be given to equality which gives rise to the proposals in this section on the structure of the education system.

The horizontal and vertical interrelation within the structure is of central importance.

Horizontally, it is especially the boundaries between the various institutions providing different types of education at the upper secondary school level which will be under consideration in this chapter. Differences between the further education offered at university and commercial school level must also be included, together with the differences obtaining between the schools themselves.

Vertically, the reasons for the division of the education system into primary schools, secondary school education of various kinds and the different forms of further education will be evaluated. Is the division dictated by educational and psychological considerations, or is it merely traditional? Will a new type of division be more likely to further the cause of equality?

The size of schools, the system of school districts, and the organisational co-operation of the schools with the local communities must all be adapted to meet the new demands for qualifications of direct relevance for society.

A change in the direction of a demand for qualifications of direct relevance for society must entail greater possibilities of experiencing democracy in practice in individual classes and at individual schools. An important factor in this process is that it should be possible for participants to influence the subject matter and course content.

If greater importance than before is attached to equality as a goal, this means at one and the same time that central control of the general outline of education must be present so as to avoid too great local differences, and that decentralisation is necessary in order that due allowance can be made for local differences in teaching.

The very different forms of control of resources which exist in the case, for example, of the primary schools, the gymnasia (upper secondary schools), commercial schools, and leisure education may be an impediment to the achievement of the new goals. U-90 must propose ways of approaching a less confused structure in this area.

/It is proposed that the task of preparing a checklist of concepts relevant for drafting of each of the 6 sections of this chapter be assigned to the working parties working on the new goals set out in Chapter 12, and that when a draft of Chapter 12 is ready, the task of preparing a draft of Chapter 13 be left to 6 small groups, in co-operation with the Secretariat./

Chapter 14 will consider the central question: What demand on resources will the pursuit of the new goals entail? This chapter will summarise the demands on resources which are a consequence of the

previous chapters. In evaluating these it is important to realise that the educational sector is not independent of market mechanisms. Education is only partially a free service since, among other things, it also involves loss of earnings. Apart from this, there is a market demand for certain educational products, which leads to a natural price formation. Thus the balance between supply and demand comes to play an important part in this chapter.

/It is proposed that this chapter be discussed in more detail when the content of the previous chapters has become more clarified and following a somewhat broader discussion of supply and demand. The whole question of the size of the various sections of the education system must be seen in the light of such a discussion.

One possibility would be to deal with the problems of supply and demand in a separate chapter between Chapters 12 and 13./

Chapter 15 will be based on an estimate of available resources. The starting point for this must be Chapter 11. Furthermore, this estimate must be set up against the demand on resources which will result from the various proposals for reform, especially the expansion of the education system at the 10th-12th school year level, the students' grants system, and adult education.

Chapter 16 will be concerned with the implementation of the plan. U-90 still only constitutes the necessary basis on which future planning can be decided. Nevertheless, in this last chapter a realistic plan for a possible step-by-step implementation of the proposals made in U-90 must be drawn up, possibly in the form of an alternative course of action.

A proposal for the organisation of the foregoing continuous planning of the various types of education at all levels must also form part of the implementation plan.

Furthermore, on the basis of the experience of the Central Council of Education concerning co-operation in the planning process with those involved in educational research, proposals must be made as to how such co-operation between research workers and planners can be established permanently, and for the best way of utilizing this co-operation in the planning process.

II

REPORT ON THE EXAMINERS' FIRST VISIT

We visited Denmark on 17th and 18th February 1977 and had full and frank discussions with administrators, teachers and representatives of occupational and parent groups concerned with the development of the Danish education system. We also talked to the Minister of Education, Mrs. Ritt Bjerregaard.

We shall follow up this first exploratory visit with a longer and more searching visit in the spring of 1978. By then, U-90, with which we were mainly concerned, will have been published and public discussion on its proposals will have reached a new stage.

Our comments in this first report relate mainly to U-90 as it was formulated in its third revised version, January 1977, which we were able to compare with the second version of April 1976. We noted also the framework, a recently devised one, within which its proposals are being discussed and carried forward. At our various sessions we were able to gather how the new decision-making procedures are being carried out. We were particularly interested in the machinery, still not fully tested, of the Central Council of Education and the sector Councils associated with it.

We were also able to supplement the information we derived in our sessions by a study of recent documentary material placed at our disposal. Much of this we considered directly relevant, particularly statistical material relating to student numbers and employment (including the Report on Youth Unemployment) and the outline of objectives set out in September 1975 in the decree for education in compulsory and optional subjects in the folkeskole. We have noted with interest since our visit the resolution concerning the 10th-12th years presented by the Minister to the Folketing in November 1976.

Such material makes much pre-1972 Danish documentary material out-of-date. Like many other education systems, the Danish system has been in a state of flux for more than twenty years. One result of this, and there are many others, is that descriptions and interpretations of the system are out-of-date almost as soon as they are published.

The circumstances, economic and political, when U-90 will be published, discussed and implemented, will obviously influence not only the time-table but the approach to some of the key issues. We were assured that whatever is done will be phased and that options will be left open. There is a recognised need for long-range vision as well as for planning, yet it is not entirely clear from U-90 what will be the intermediate stages within the fifteen-year strategy contemplated. We hope to be more clear on this point after our visit in the spring of 1978.

Our own immediate comments fall into two categories:

a) an examination of the structure of U-90 and of the relationship between the different proposals put forward in it; and
b) cross-references, whenever relevant, to what is happening in other countries.

U-90

U-90 is a pioneering document which deals with educational processes as a whole and their interrelationships, and not merely with the activities, present or projected, of existing institutions. It is deliberately concerned with values and goals as well as with facts and trends. It has been substantially re-written as a result of discussion, but it retains its original and ambitious design.

Many national plans for educational development ultimately fail to make a marked impact because their scope is limited. This will certainly not be the case with U-90. The danger rather will be that its scope is so large that it will be thought of more as an overview than as an agenda. We were deeply impressed, however, by the measures which have been taken or which are proposed for testing public opinion, receiving advice and collecting statistical and other evidence about the various issues and proposals contained in the preliminary report. It is clear that the final report will be the fruit of wide-ranging discussions and systematic inquiries.

We were concerned in our discussions with the timing of U-90 - not easy, given the economic and political situation - and with the way in which different people and groups view its purpose and possibilities. Expectations vary as much as degrees of support. Some groups emphasized the necessity of identifying options. Others suggested that because of economic pressures influencing current educational policies the final Plan might not be taken as seriously as the Minister hoped. There were some differences of approach inside the groups.

We asked the people we met - and unfortunately not all groups were represented - a number of ordered questions:

a) What do you expect of U-90?
b) How far is its purpose now known?
c) Do you agree with the goals set out in it?
d) What problems do you see in the way of implementing any plans based on it?
e) What are the critical issues?

We noted ourselves that, as it is at present formulated in the outline, U-90 has little statistical underpinning. It does not introduce the conception of 'cohorts', although it does refer to 'new generations'. We take it that Chapter 3 will include basic statistics which will be further elaborated in Chapter 4. Without a quantitative analysis of major variables it will be difficult to identify intermediate planning phases within the fifteen year span.

We were impressed by a sentence in the original outline that 'a planning system must contain proposals for a structure within which continual planning can take place'. Yet we note that in more than one place U-90 refers to tasks which are to be carried out without clearly indicating how they are to be carried out.

Several generalisations disturbed us; for example, the generalisation that 'the market mechanism for the demand for school leavers, graduates and others who have completed their education will be decisive for the necessary calculation of the amount of resources required'. Many questions, including difficult methodological ones, are begged here. Moreover, the generalisation can be interpreted as a strict orientation of educational planning according to the anticipated needs of the labour market. We recognise the importance of paying attention to such needs, however difficult forecasting may be, but do not believe that this should be the only factor influencing the calculation of resources.

Further analysis will be necessary before U-90 can fulfil what we understand is its main purpose - that of providing the public (and not just people professionally engaged in education) with knowledge of what is happening and what could happen in education. Yet even when that knowledge has been provided, there will still be basic questions of priorities to settle. These will require careful logistic planning.

We believe that diffusion and discussion of the report would gain by the inclusion of educational 'grass-roots' case-study material of the kind that would be familiar to its readers. Many of them will approach educational issues in the light of local problems and personal experience. There is always a danger in large-scale planning exercises that there will be a gap between plan and practice.

The current system whereby education in Denmark is planned, controlled and monitored at the national level is unique and of undoubted international interest. We gained the impression on limited evidence

that the Ministry of Education, the several Directorates and the Sectoral Boards were working effectively in harmony. We believe, however, that it will be necessary in the final version of the Plan to define their respective functions with precision and to show in what ways they are expected to interact.

Similarly, we believe it necessary to describe in some detail the functions of the local education authorities and the kind of machinery that will best facilitate the participation of local interest groups in educational decision-making. We were handicapped by not hearing more directly from them.

VALUES

U-90 sets out to state clearly the social tasks to which the education system should contribute, and we noted the emphasis on the socialising as well as the qualifying role of education and on the quest for equality.

We missed two main points in the presentation and remain uneasy about a third. First, there is no explicit reference to the concept of 'learning'. The text is often teacher- or system-centred. For example, is it not learning rather than teaching which 'establishes an inter-relationship between the different aspects of life'? Second, and it is a corollary of the first point, the idea of 'lifelong learning' is consequently underplayed. It is to only a limited extent that within any school system the next generation can be adequately 'equipped' for 'future roles'. There is too much of an assumption that education equals schooling. The point on which we remain uneasy is the tendency in U-90 to limit detailed consideration of the individual demand for education. We take up this point below.

We note with sympathy that immediate concerns have influenced the discussion on values. It is obviously a matter of concern that although the number of enrolments in secondary schools has doubled, the number of young people leaving compulsory school without a qualification for a job has remained constant. It is an even greater matter of concern that this group belongs mainly to the lower end of the socio-economic scale. We believe that there is need for deeper research on this subject - and a common data base - as well as for general speculation.

There is need for more detailed consideration of the longer-term implications of this question in the light of 'lifelong learning'. All the evidence available to us suggests that even after economic barriers have been removed or reduced for low-income and low educational attainment groups, the participation rates of such groups remains well below that of middle and upper middle income groups with high previous educational attainment. U-90 should address itself specifically to psychological

and sociological barriers and should consider different structural learning experiences and different patterns of resource facilities.

As far as the quest for equality is concerned, we would wish to direct attention not only to such issues but to the possibly critical role of the pre-school years, and to the relationship between education policies (and expenditures) and other social policies. There is no reference to possible 'trade-offs' between other social expenditures and educational demand.

We were given more information about the school system than about early education, non-traditional forms of post-secondary education and adult education. Yet we were aware before our arrival of the work of the Danish Commission for Young Children which covers all aspects of pre-school life, of 'experimental' schemes for 'youth' and of the long-standing Danish traditions in adult education now requiring critical re-assessement. The sections on adult education in U-90 - and our discussions about them - suggest that there is scope for further study of how to carry out necessary co-ordinated reforms in this field. Policies will have to be devised which facilitate greater co-ordination without stifling initiative. The limitations of all such policies need to be considered in relation to any arguments about equality.

Educational goals are clearly concerned with the whole life of the citizen, and although we missed a full analysis of the lifelong learning process of the individual we were impressed by the usefulness in the Danish discussion of the account of 'four lives' (which can never, of course, be separated) as set out in U-90. We feel strongly, however, that emphasis should continue to be given to the development of the individual's own potential within a responsible society, whatever his social role.

We noted that by contrast the aims for education in the folkeskole include 'giving pupils an instrument to experience their own and other people's situations' and to develop their powers to 'evaluate, decide and to act'. Likewise, by contrast, the Central Council of Education included among the main functions of the education system as a whole that of creating 'the basis for the personal development of the individual, in short, to give him or her a richer purpose in life'.

PROPOSALS UNDER REVIEW

We were interested in the referral to the Sector Council for Primary Schools for guidance on how primary schools are divided into forms and classes: How are educational and social forces related to each other? We were interested too in the reference to 'starting school'. All these questions relate to entry to education and its social determinants.

We note that there is continuing uncertainty as to how best to consider the 10th school year. Should it be thought of as an extension of primary education or should it replace the first year of upper secondary education? We have read since our visit of the proposal presented to the Folketing in November 1976 but have not been able to take full account of it in this interim report. We believe that U-90 itself should set out different options very clearly if there is to be a full debate.

The same is true of questions relating to 'comprehensive education', the integration of theoretical and practical education, alternative forms of further and higher education, and the place of universities within the education system, not least with regard to their admission policies. We would refer particularly to the need to define the role of the gymnasium. We believe also that the somewhat resigned attitude towards the decline in apprenticeship should not prevent a fuller consideration of the whole range of options open to those who are qualified for vocational education. The level of intelligence needed and applied in the preparation process for vocational skills often justifies the same credit and acknowledgement as traditional general education certificates.

The Plan should deal extensively with the whole question of the transition from school to working life and the implications for the curriculum, the apprenticeship system and the relations between the education system and all those agencies concerned with employment. We endorse the view of the Central Council of Education that it is important to make a number of recommendations on this critical transition. The present draft says little in detail about practical ways and means of strengthening the links between the education system and the world of work.

It is clear to us that the influence of parents has perceptibly increased during recent years. The Plan might well discuss in more detail the most effective ways of involving parents in the educational process.

Other People's Experience

Many of the issues discussed in U-90 are being discussed in other countries: indeed, the conception of a 'great debate' is not unique. In some countries, however, the debate has not led to any major change in the way business is conducted. We note that in Denmark changes in procedures have preceded the drafting of U-90.

There is a general shift in most countries from concern for particular sectors of education - with higher education having been the most favoured sector during the 1960s - to concern for the relationships throughout the whole educational process between individual learning by means of continuing education and the needs of society.

There is also a widespread interest in the relationships between ways of teaching and learning and social orientation. This includes in many cases an interest (backed by an increasing volume of research) in equality as an educational objective. Detailed studies relate educational expenditures to other social expenditures and analyse the real social costs of different educational programmes, particularly in post-secondary and adult education.

We have noted in this context the passage in Herluf Rasmussen's paper on 'An Attempt at Integrating the Various Forms of Youth Education' which states that 'as Denmark suffers from a severe lack of raw materials, the strength of its power to compete with other countries must rest in the abilities and knowledge of its people'. We have been interested in the threads of economic argument (including the more general argument about youth unemployment) in the Danish debate which also includes, as in other countries, other considerations such as the most effective use of an increasing amount of 'leisure' and the importance of imaginative understanding through education of the situation in 'developing countries'.

We do not believe that any single country can provide answers to Danish questions, but we would direct attention to policy-making overseas (and relevant national and OECD information) on a) pre-school years; b) linkages between primary and secondary education; c) 'comprehensive' and 'separated' secondary schooling; d) curricular reform, especially at the secondary level, and the testing of innovations; e) flexible admission policies to post-secondary institutions; f) non-traditional alternatives in further and higher education; g) paid leave schemes for workers to carry on their education; and h) in-service training for teachers.

We learned much ourselves from our visit and the spirit in which it was conducted and we look forward to a more prolonged visit in 1978 when it may be possible to study educational activity in Denmark as well as policy-making and administration.

Part Four

U-90

DANISH EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND POLICY IN A SOCIAL CONTEXT AT THE END OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

SUMMARY PRESENTED IN CHAPTER XIV OF THE ORIGINAL REPORT

SUMMARY OF THE MAJORITY STATEMENT

This chapter is not intended to be a systematic summary of everything that has been discussed in the preceding chapters, but only as a summary of the most important recommendations in the U-90.

Many interests and viewpoints are represented in the CCE, and as a consequence of this we do not agree on everything. This summary is based on the opinions on which the majority can largely agree.

At several points in the body of the report individual members - including members supporting the majority view - have expressed diverging opinions concerning specific issues.

Four minority statements contain more comprehensive differences of opinion. A short summary of these statements will be found immediately following the summary prepared by the majority.

1. Our main point of view is that the school and the courses of education are central elements of society, and the educational policy will thus also become an important element in all endeavours to change society.

Any society is based on the principle that experience achieved is passed on to the following generation. This applies to knowledge and skills of importance for production as well as the underlying social patterns, ethics, and outlook, and it applies to the principles of decision-making and government.

Education may provide an improved basis for finding one's bearings, for taking a position on issues, and for choosing among the wide variety of opportunities.

2. Science and technology have not only changed the material conditions of life and created a far higher standard of living for all groups in society, but they have also had powerful influence on community life, family life, and leisure life. Economic growth has its drawbacks in the form of hard conditions of work, a deterioration of exterior environments, and important changes in the situation of the individual with the consequent insecurity and alienation.

Teaching and education is a prerequisite for creating improved material conditions, and may also contribute towards enabling the young people to exert an influence on the situation in which they are to live and to work.

3. But the school is also to be a place where it is good to be. A large part of the life of a child is spent at school and must offer valuable experiences when the child is together with his or her comrades and teachers, and through a continuous interaction with the life outside the school.

The small community unit in which the children previously grew up with the home as the sheet-anchor has partly been broken up. Children generally lack contact with the life of the parents at their place of work, and the community and leisure life the parents participate in. The isolation of the school with regard to all the things that take place outside the classroom should be broken up to remedy this development.

4. Education must contribute towards creating well-rounded personalities who can act in all situations in life. It is not sufficient that the young people are educated in a number of specialised fields, or that they get a qualification to manage some type of job in trade and industry. Education should be seen in relation to what people need in the family life, leisure life, working life, and community life. By this we do not imply that each of these aspects of human life are to be dealt with separately; on the contrary we would like to stress through this that education is not one-sidedly a question of preparing for participation in working life, and at the same time we would like to give the much-debated issues of the general matters or general education an injection of practicality. The more so as it is to a wide extent the same qualifications, traits, and attitudes a human being will need in all four lives.

An element of this is that young people know the situation for other groups in society and learn to understand why others speak and think differently.

5. Respect for the individual and his dignity is a basic ideal which ought to pervade the school. We realize that this is partly an unattainable goal in a world characterised by violence, terror, and oppression. Nevertheless, the school should make efforts to imprint kindness, openness, and consideration for others on the pupils, and it should counteract all tendencies to violence and injustice. This could, for instance, be done by making the conflicts in society and the circumstances fostering violence and crime the objects of open debate in school.

6. Solidarity with the group one belongs to is valuable. But group solidarity should always be balanced as regards the consideration for

the individuals as well as the wider social context. One of the most important aims in our democratic society is that the school imprints loyalty to the basic principles of society on the children, and that it contributes to keeping society together. The school cannot take a neutral stance in this respect.

This must not result in regimentation or conformity. The school and the subsequent education should not give an idealized picture of society and should not hide or blurr the differences and conflicts characterizing the Danish as well as the other societies in the world. It is necessary for the young people to know the realities of this world with all their good and bad qualities, but it is equally important that they learn to understand that you can actually do something about it. Solidarity with the community is necessary as a basis for criticism and debate on reforms.

7. Politics is an essential dimension of life in a democratic society. The educational system should open up the political world to children and young people. The actual political differences of opinion and the conflicting interests should be discussed with the young people, and they should learn to see through empty phrases and nebulous talk, and to assess the content of noble phrases.

It is difficult to find the balance between indoctrination and the development of a critical attitude and the ability to take an independent attitude. The individual teacher should be aware of the possibility of influencing implied by his position and authority as a teacher. It is not acceptable that the teachers should one-sidedly push their own values and criticisms on students and pupils. It is also an illusion that the teacher should have a purely neutral attitude of 'pro and con'. The teacher should not repress, but build on his own personality and involvement, but at the same time he should be loyal to the chief aims of the school. The role of the teacher is a difficult balance act, and the politically responsible bodies should have the courage to provide a liberal and not too narrow framework within which the individual teacher can be perfectly free to work.

8. We consider it to be a basic principle that nobody who is physically and mentally able to work should be allowed to leave the educational system without having a basis for the participation in working life. But the qualification for working life - vocational qualification - must have such a wide scope that several opportunities open up for each individual person to acquire a position on the labour market, and if required to change jobs.

The business enterprises and trade and industry have great influence on the requirements as to qualifications - but as a rule it is based on a

very narrow aim. Society should therefore have the decisive say. This also applies to the provision of the required number of traineeships.

Work is necessary to ensure the material basis of life, but it is furthermore a value in its own right. Work executed at the instruction of others and without the possibility of changing the working methods and working tempo, and without a possibility of assessing the result will seldom provide pleasure.

The school can qualify pupils for solving tasks, but education can furthermore teach young people and adults to participate in the planning of the work in order to create a better atmosphere and healthy working environments.

9. We consider more equality of educational opportunity to be a central issue. In many respects it is difficult to realize this in a society characterized by large inequalities as regards standards of living, social position, influence and cultural status.

Educational policy can do its share towards reducing or removing inequalities and discrimination. A basic prerequisite is that everybody is offered the same opportunities, and that everybody gets a chance to make use of these opportunities. This may require additional efforts in respects to the handicapped and other disadvantaged.

The Danish school system has gone a long way towards avoiding streaming at an early stage and a sorting of the children, and towards removing external barriers to equality. But a great deal more can be done.

Our target is that the educational system will be designed to offer such favourable and varied opportunities that all persons will complete 12 years - and later 13 - of schooling or training on a voluntary basis.

Full equality of educational opportunity cannot be realized within further and higher education, but there should be equal opportunities for everyone and principles and attitudes characterized by equality should be aspects of education all the way through the courses. The elitist characteristics of many theoretical specialist courses should be removed.

A. A Plan for Reforms

10. The question could be asked: how would we design the Danish educational system if we had a free play and were able to design the system we found to be best suited, on the basis of the targets set for people in the

society we would like to see realized in the 1990s? Such an intellectual experiment could perhaps result in a system that is quite different from the present one.

But we simply cannot start from scratch and design a new system just like that. We are bound by a number of circumstances and considerations. This applies to the system of productive industry, ownership, the distribution of power, the pattern of consumption, urban and housing structures, etc. It also applies to circumstances in the educational system, such as teaching traditions, textbooks, school buildings, etc., and not least the existing teacher force. Our own conceptions of what we can do and how we do it are also bound by the conditions under which we live and work.

We consider it to be necessary to build on the existing basis and gradually try to change it in the desired direction.

This is in full agreement with the basic view that the development is to take place in a democratic way so that the wishes and initiatives of the pupils and the parents, the teachers and the 'consumers' can be voiced and influence the development.

Attempts at remodelling the entire educational system on the basis of some theoretical model prepared in advance which has not been developed and tested in practice are not only at variance with the principles of co-determination but would to all appearances create uncertainty and disapproval, and could easily lead to a blocking of further progress. The dilemma of all reform policies is that the targets can be set so high that they will not meet with general approval and as a result of this the reform work will come to a standstill. The second risk is that the targets are set so low that they will in fact meet with general approval - but they will not lead anywhere.

The majority has tried to find the balance between these considerations, and we believe that the proposals that we make are suitable points of departure for the endeavours over the coming 15-year period to create an educational system that makes allowances for the needs and interests of the population.

B. The Teaching Aspect

11. The tradition characterizing the entire educational system, according to which the timetable is divided into subjects and theoretical and practical subjects are kept apart, should be replaced by endeavours to connect the issues. Co-operation between the subjects (interdisciplinary), and the combination of subjects - as well as the work with the problems cutting across the traditional subject patterns - will therefore become important elements in the teaching of tomorrow.

Regular assessments are useful elements in pedagogical work, both for teachers and pupils.

Examinations and markings in the primary and lower secondary school should be designed and used in such a way that not too much importance is attached to actual achievements, and in such a way that they will reflect to a higher extent the daily process of teaching. A re-assessment of the need for a continued application of tests and examinations should take place if all pupils complete a course lasting 12 years.

12. It is of prime importance that education and teaching are not solely or predominantly based on words - written or spoken - but that words and theory are combined through manual work, through actions, co-operation, and emotions.

Furthermore, it is important that teaching creates a connection with the sum of experience of the individual person. General knowledge becomes more important by being related to the concrete knowledge of the individual, and many skills are best learned in connection with the practical tasks which all persons are constantly faced with.

We therefore attach importance to working methods which activate the participants at all educational levels - be it aesthetic or bodily activities or theoretical problem-solving. The aesthetic and creative activities are to be pursued in all subjects, and not only in a few special lessons.

The work with practical pursuits is an important tool for increased knowledge, and the individual should learn to learn at his own initiative - from his own experience as well as from that of others.

For the young people trainee service is furthermore a means to acquire knowledge of the working life in trade and industry. Group work is important in order to learn to co-operate, and education for participation in a democratic society can only be achieved in co-operation with others. Student participation in the steering processes in the school is an important element of democratic education.

The school also has an educative function. No education can avoid influencing attitudes and behaviour. This function is to a wide extent unconscious, and people do not really realize how important it is. The hidden curricula - as they have been called - should be brought to light and assessed critically on the basis of the main aims of the educational system of tomorrow.

13. Nobody can in the course of 12 years of education acquire more than a fraction of the knowledge that is required later on in life, and consequently it is important for everybody to return to the educational system at some time - but it is even more important to be able to acquire

skills and knowledge at your own initiative. Radio and TV have opened up important prospects in this field.

We propose that a special report be made on the role which radio and TV have acquired in the imparting of knowledge and attitudes, and the repercussions this has on the work of the school.

C. Proposals on Structure

14. The more extensive proposals on innovation or remodelling and expansion apply in particular to 3 sectors of the total system:

- the start at school,
- post-compulsory education and,
- adult education.

To this we add clear wishes for an expansion and an integration of the entire complicated system governing educational aid and payment to pupils for lost wages at present in force, and other payments to people attending a course of study. The Minister of Education has requested us to make a more detailed survey of this field, and consequently we will not make any concrete proposals or recommendations in this respect.

The following is a step by step summary of our proposals.

15. Our proposals concerning the start at school applies to the first stage of development, namely an expansion at the beginning of the 1980s of pre-school classes in all municipalities in the country, and approximation of the working methods in the pre-school classes and the lowest forms at school. This aims at a smoother transition to the school, and more equal conditions at the start at school for all.

As the second stage we find that education should become compulsory from the day the child attains the age of 6, and that this should be carried through in the latter part of the 1980s.

To this we add proposals on an expansion of the provision of leisure-time schemes for 6- to 9-year-old children. Such leisure-time schemes, which to a wide extent could be organised in the school buildings, are not only going to be schemes for the supervision of children, but they also have to have a developing and stimulating content.

The CCE members cannot agree whether these schemes should be free of charge for all, such as are the pre-school classes.

16. Concerning the primary and lower secondary school we make a number of proposals which continues present trends and utilizes the opportunities for development laid down in the new Primary and Lower Secondary School Act which entered into force in 1977.

The most important ideas for reforms are:

- to soften the rigid timetable, which at present is divided into subjects and lessons,
- to soften the boundaries between the subjects,
- teaching which to a higher extent uses as its basis down-to-earth topics within the sum of experience of the children,
- increased importance should be attached to creative, aesthetic, and bodily activities,
- improved contact between the school and the surrounding community, not least the home, trade and industry, and organisations, and utilisation of these contacts in the teaching,
- more lessons a week.

17. We would like to make the following proposals concerning the expansion of youth education (post-compulsory) immediately following the 9th or 10th forms of the primary and lower secondary school.

- By 1990 at the latest there should be sufficiently many and sufficiently attractive offers comprising all of the 16- to 19-year-olds. After 1990 the residual group should be a thing of the past for the young generations.
- At that time everybody should have an opportunity of completing a minimum of 12 years of schooling or training. Everybody is to have vocational qualifications or academic qualification enabling the young person to continue in a course of further training or education without interruption.
- Nobody is to get a purely vocational qualification that is so narrow that it only qualifies for a special job; everybody is to have a broader and general vocational qualification.
- No course of youth education should only give a vocational qualification or a academic qualification aiming at a course of further and higher education. All young people are to have a continuous and all-round development aiming at family life, working life, leisure life, and community life.
- We do not want to have a compulsory system, and neither do we want to have a rigid unified system or specified models, because it is our opinion that there is to be room for development of new opportunities, and because we want to maintain a wide spectrum of offers providing a change for the young people to find the course that suits them. At the same time there should be room for the free schools.

But we recommend a greater connection between the various types of schools than at present, so that existing barriers are removed and as a result there will be possibilities of transition for the ones who want to change courses in the process.

- Especially at this level it will be necessary to have an improved educational aid scheme, so that the financially disadvantaged are not left in the lurch.
- Development work and experiments should take place both at local and central initiative.

18. The long and the medium-term courses of further and higher education have expanded so vigorously over the last 15 years that continued expansion does not seem to be required. The development in the labour market must be followed constantly with a view to avoiding that more are educated than there are jobs for.

We recommend that efforts are made to create possibilities for leaving the educational system earlier at predetermined stages, so that courses can be concluded with a vocational qualification after 3 or 4 years.

We furthermore recommend that new streams are developed which are adapted to the continued development in the business sector of the community; this should be done both for the long and the medium-long courses, and to an even higher extent for the short courses of further education.

It is an important element in all courses of further education that importance is attached to the ability to create contact, to co-operate, and to impart knowledge and information. It is not only important for the greater majority of persons who have completed a long course of higher education and who are to teach, but also for most other groups in relation to clients, colleagues, and the general public, etc.

19. The proposals concerning adult education are a continuation of the main principles relating to youth education. A main issue is that increased efforts should be made as regards reaching-out work, for instance by improved use of radio and TV.

However, it is in particular important that a special effort is made for the large groups of adults who have completed a short course of study only. It is a question of not only giving them an improved background for a job, but also of a development in relation to the other lives.

We propose that possibilities are opened up for the persons who have completed a short course of study to get supplementary teaching and education with the same aim as the courses of youth education, but prepared particularly to suit the needs of mature students. There are two important prerequisites if this is to be sufficiently important: firstly, people should be entitled to release for education and training during working hours, i.e. they should be released from work during the period of study, and they should have a right to keep their job for

the duration of the course, and secondly that an allowance is made in compensation for wages lost in the course of the period of study.

We realize that this will be expensive, and that it will create practical problems in the firms. Consequently we propose progress by stages, also because it requires time to make the arrangements and get teachers for such a comprehensive system of courses.

We would like to stress that an element of the deliberations on the economic possibilities should be the high rate of unemployment in these years, and that the total expenses as a result of long-term unemployment are far higher than the expenses in connection with a teaching scheme as the above-mentioned.

Consequently we also propose that possibilities are opened up for unemployed people to follow a course of study without losing the right to receive unemployment benefit.

As more general measures we propose an expansion of the system of refresher training and further training for all those who have already completed a course of vocational training. Finally we would like to see a continuation of the vigorous development within the sector of leisure-time education, which has been of a varied nature and influenced a wide range of activities, and that such activities are supported out of public funds.

In principle we think that useful adult education is what the individual himself finds to be useful.

20. Concerning teacher training courses, which at present are divided into 5 or 6 clearly separate courses, we propose a co-ordination, and that importance is attached to a close combination of the professional elements and the educational and communicative aims in all these courses.

We consider it to be desirable that the boundaries between the different fields of employment of the teachers are made less rigid.

21. The CCE does not consider it to be expedient in the U-90 report to go into more detail as regards the many administrative aspects, but some central issues concerning the distribution of responsibilities between the various authorities are discussed.

If our ideas about a coherent education system with a common aim and orientation at all levels and with continued possibilities of development are to be realized, there must be an adaptation of the administrative structure accordingly. However, this will be far easier to do in Denmark than in most other countries, because many steps in that direction have already been taken in this country.

We consider it to be desirable,

- that the chief planning is strengthened through a formalised co-operation between the Ministry of Education and other relevant government departments with connection to teaching and education, and
- that within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education there is an improved co-ordination of the courses of youth education preparing for a vocation, and the courses preparing for continued studies, as they are today placed under several Directorates of the Ministry of Education;
- that there will be a clarification and a simplification of the distribution of responsibilities between the State, the counties, and the local authorities, and
- that to as wide an extent as is possible there is a general devolution of power to local authorities and the individual institutions. The pupils and students at such institutions are to participate in the decision-making together with the teachers.

22. The education political development has continued during the not quite 3 years the work on the U-90 report has been in progress. New ideas have been debated, there have been experiments, bills have been introduced, and acts have been passed. It has never been the intention of the work on the U-90 report that other initiatives should be postponed until the basis for seeing the totality and the connection would be available.

Future reforms will also be introduced by stages as regards the time aspect, and separately for the individual elements of the education system, or individual reforms across the boundaries between the various sectors.

The U-90 report does not provide a specific timetable for the detailed planning and decisions comprising the next 15 years, but it provides a better basis for rolling planning which can take into account new features of social development, new ideas, and new political directives.

In 15 years many problems will appear in quite a different light. Many things that now appear to be bold, will appear obvious, and reforms that seem to be required today, will turn out to be uninteresting, for instance because completely new solutions have been found. The development since 1960 seems to indicate clearly how much can happen over a period of 15 to 20 years.

If a planning which is subject to constant review is to become the leading principle for the educational policy of the next few years, it will have to be made by means of a widespread co-operation. It is necessary that the basis of information is expanded, and that the contact between the planners and the educational researchers is strengthened. This presupposes that a more fixed organisational

framework for such co-operation is provided, and we think that the CCE as well as the Planning Department of the Ministry must participate in such co-operation with representatives of the many research institutes working on the issue of education.

D. Requirements as to Resources

23. Some of the proposals we make will result in increased public expenditure and engage a larger proportion of the labour force as pupils, teachers, and other staff. We estimate that in 1990 there will be 50-60,000 pupils of more than 16 years of age, approximately 20,000 more teachers, and well over 5,000 other staff members.

As long as there is a high rate of unemployment, we do not consider this to imply any heavy strain on the resources of our community and on economic balance, whereas increased educational efforts offer large advantages to the individual and to society as a whole.

Later on, when there is an economic recovery, the increased educational efforts will mean that the growth in private consumption and/or other publicly provided services should be restrained; but we also find that in that case it is expedient to accord a higher priority to education. Education is the basis of a number of qualities of life, and Denmark's possibilities of holding her own in the keen international competition is decisively dependent on knowledge, skills, and other qualities that are conditional upon education.

If all our proposals are implemented and there are more general improvements of standards and a reasonable expansion of educational aid, the share of GNP spent on educational purposes will increase from the present 7 per cent to upwards of 8 per cent in 1990. We do not consider this to be any prohibitive increase. But a number of proposals are designed with a built-in flexibility, so that it is not necessary to make decisions on the entire course of action already now. On the other hand, it is important that the preparatory planning is continued.

SUMMARY OF MINORITY STATEMENTS

1. Mr. Knud Øllgaard, who represents the Federation of Danish Smallholders' Societies, the Federation of Danish Agricultural Societies, and the Joint Council of Danish Farmers' Co-operative Societies, and Mr. Erik Tøttrup, of the Danish Employers' Confederation state as the principal objection to the procedure used in the drawing up of the U-90 report that essentially it uses as its basis a single politically motivated basis of values, i.e. the desire to carry through the ideal of equality in a more consistent way than has previously been the case.

The minority can accept that equality is one of the foundations of our educational system, but only one of them. If the U-90 report is to be used as an introduction to a debate it should also contain other viewpoints. The majority refers to the fact that the U-90 report aims at being a guide for a very wide circle of readers: the Government, the Folketing, the press, the educational institutions, and the general public.

The U-90 report ought to have mentioned how allowance could be made for other aims. By way of example may be mentioned the circumstance that the demand for competence - the professional qualification - is treated too narrowly and superficially. This appears to be unreasonable when taking into account that our country can only meet competition from abroad through the skill we show - our high professional standards. In this connection the report does not discuss how a reasonable connection between what is taught within vocational training in particular and the jobs aimed at can be ensured in cooperation with trade and industry. On the other hand the majority recommends that increased importance is attached to teacher and pupil influence. The minority finds that this also endangers academic standards, as there are not the required prerequisites within the framework of the institutions for adjusting the courses of education to the duties that are to be discharged in the job which the pupil/student is later to take.

If too little regard is being paid to these problems of qualification, the young people who already have difficulties in finding a job will be affected to a particularly severe degree.

The U-90 report also goes too little into how the courses can be prepared as a service to the citizens through their lives, in other words in what is called 'lifelong education' as a kind of catchphrase. The institutions and their functions are to a far too high extent used as a basis.

It is a decisive question how far the educational system is to go in addition to covering the specialised and very general fields of qualification. It is not very advisable to go into attitudes that attach to leisure life, family life, and community life. It is perhaps inevitable that the educational system should also be interested in these elements of the life of any citizen, but how far is it to go? This is a case of political estimates concerning on the one hand the consideration for the homes and the responsibility of the individual - an assistance that may very easily have the result that the individual is deprived of responsibility and initiative.

In a number of concrete matters the minority demurs to the proposals made by the majority.

The minority finds the proposal to include the pre-school classes in the compulsory part of education less reasonable, at least in the way

the proposal is worked out. It is not clear whether the proposals of the majority will lead to a much more straightforward way of learning, or whether the main importance will turn out to be attached to the principle of 'a place to be'. Before this point has been clarified through development work, the minority does not find any basis for considering whether the period of compulsory education is to be extended to cover younger children than it does today.

As concerns youth education the minority finds that the courses should not be integrated or co-ordinated to such a high extent as is proposed by the majority.

The minority recommends that efforts should now be concentrated on the bipartite system of youth education, on the one hand the upper secondary school/the higher preparatory course, and on the other the various vocational courses. This does not imply a dissociation from practical co-operation or a rejection of the possibility that pupils may choose modules from the other line. On the contrary, such co-operation may be of great importance.

The minority finds that the recommendations made by the CCE concerning adult education have been made with too little understanding of the fact that it is not possible to write out bills for trade and industry without serious consequences to competitiveness, and thus to employment. In this respect the minority especially refers to the proposal that adult workers are to get educational leave of absence with full compensation for lost wages in order to participate in a general course of study. The minority can subscribe to the view that the aim should be considered seriously, but it must demur to the proposed concrete measures.

It would be more obvious to turn the attention to the jobless and try to offer this group reasonable opportunities of education. In the opinion of the minority it should be considered how adult education could be prepared so that it could (also) work as a labour market political tool, with the efforts being varied in step with the rise or fall of the rate of unemployment to counteract - at least to a certain extent - the negative effects of unemployment for the ones who are affected by it.

2. The representative of the Danish Federation of Trade Unions, Mr. Finn Thorgrimson, can in all essentials concur in the views of the majority contained in the U-90 report, but he has found it necessary to make minority statements on certain minor points.

These can be summed up as follows:

- The minority does not find that the chapter dealing with our conception of the future to a sufficient degree recognises the need for 'economic democracy' in the society of the future.

- The minority finds that both the insistent demands for a democratization and an increased demand for capital will promote the principle of economic democracy within the next few years.
- On behalf of the Danish Federation of Trade Unions the minority doubts the advisability of the formulations in the chapter on aims and intentions for the educational policy of the 1990s about the role of the educational system with a view to implanting positive attitudes to existing rules and norms in the pupils. There must be things which one must absolutely be critical of - within the law.
- In the minority statement is for instance mentioned the difference in sentences passed by the courts for white-collar crime and theft.
- The minority would like to make the following comments on the chapter dealing with the proposals for reforms.
- The representative of the Danish Federation of Trade Unions would like to have markings and examinations abolished in the primary school.
- The representative would furthermore also like to have the present possibility of division of courses in the top forms of the primary and lower secondary school abolished.
- The minority also finds that the subject 'vocational studies' should be compulsory.

These statements have been made with a view to reducing the importance of the social sorting of pupils which takes place already in the primary and lower secondary school.

As regards adult education the minority has made a comprehensive statement, not because there are not positive features in the body of the main report, but because the minority finds them to be insufficient.

The key point of the statement is the principle of educational leave of absence with refund for wages lost, especially because this would provide an actual possibility of remedying the 'educational deficit' of the adult workers.

It is proposed that at any time at least 5 per cent of the labour force should be attending a course of study, with refund for wages lost according to the rules of the labour market courses.

The scheme must involve a right to return to the job.

If the work within the educational system is to take place within a given framework of resources, the minority proposes a redistribution in favour of adult education.

With reference to the chapter dealing with the problems of steering, the minority proposes - as a counterweight to the monopoly of the private

textbook publishers - that public publishing firms are established; this implies that the State, the counties, and municipalities are to go into the publishing of educational materials.

Jørgen Jensen, Kirsten Kjersgaard, and Bent Nyløkke Jørgensen expressed their full support of the main principle which is stressed in the minority statement by the Federation of Trade Unions on adult education as regards the right to educational leave of absence with refund for wages lost.

3. Bent Nyløkke Jørgensen, representative of the Central Organisation of the Publicly Employed University Graduates, has in some brief minority statements emphasized that the balance between the different courses of youth education must be found through the young people's own choice between courses preparing for a vocation, courses preparing for further studies, upper secondary courses, and higher preparatory courses, and that the CCE has not had the required specialised basis for making the proposals of having one directorate in the Ministry of Education take care of all courses of adult education.

4. Finn Brandt-Pedersen, Erik Jørgen Hansen, Else Marie Sejer Larsen, and Gunhild Nissen start by enumerating a number of reasons why they have chosen to make a minority statement. One of these is that the body of the report is characterised by a description of the situation as harmonious, where a description of the conflicts would give a better picture of the actual situation, and that the body of the report is based on confidence in what an 'equality-oriented attitude' alone can bring about, without contemplating in detail the importance of the basic social and educational structures. Furthermore is mentioned the lack in the body of the report of a defined target in the shape of a model for the structure of the educational system and content at the end of the period of planning, or later.

The minority substantiates with statistical data the development in the educational sector up through the period of expansion starting in the early 1960s. The conclusion is that the so-called residual group in all essentials is unchanged after this period - that there was a reduction of the size of the group with basic specialized skills, and a growth in the size of the group with theoretical skills, and that the socially imbalanced recruitment for the various educational areas has been maintained. Part of the explanation is seen in the bipartite steering which means that the politicians and the central administration take care of primary and lower secondary education and continued theoretical education, whereas the sector of vocational training has been steered by the labour market, in practice by the individual employers.

The minority discusses the everyday life of the school and the educational institutions - content, language, behaviour - through which

the educational system will contribute to the oppression of the interests of the least advantaged by having a content of values and methods of teaching which are alien to many children, and especially to the children from working-class homes.

The minority next outlines the possible development of society through the next decade on the basis of trends that can be observed now - towards continued industrialisation, bureaucracy, the deterioration of working conditions and the detrimental effects on nature, etc., and with aggravated conflicts and struggles between interest groups. The minority also finds that there are trends leading towards a corporate State - a society in which the State controls an increasing number of aspects of community life, with still tighter measures, and with interventions bordering on censorship.

*

* *

In conclusion the minority outlines an educational system which may promote desirable trends and check unwanted trends. The main idea is 12 years of common education for all, divided into 3 stages:

1) An initial stage lasting 2 to 3 years, beginning not later than at the age of 5. This stage is seen as a combination of the activities in the present kindergartens, pre-school classes, 1st forms, and leisure-time schemes, but with increased educational and professional efforts.

2) A 7-year primary school, without examinations and without the optional subjects which have a sorting effect, and which give varying degrees of qualification. The teaching should use as its basis the experience of the children and include the trends, aims, and conflicts of the surrounding community.

The educational activities should include problem-orientation and activities that combine practical and theoretical skills. The aim is partly insight into the situation and conditions of the individual, and partly experience in the opportunities which the group and the community hold for conscious and constructive actions.

3) A 3-year period of continued schooling. After completing this period all 17 year-olds will have general qualifications for further study and general vocational qualifications. In an initial period this period could be divided into some areas, for instance four: production/distribution - communication - environment - health and care - in an integrated system which comprises elements taken from the theoretical and general sum of concepts of the upper secondary school, from the

combination of theory and practice found in basic vocational training, from the system of optional courses in higher preparatory courses, and from the new ideas relating to continuation schools.

After the compulsory 12 years of education everybody will be sure of having access to acquire special vocational qualifications after a maximum of 3 years. These qualifications will qualify for a trade and full wages. These courses can be organised in areas, for instance in the above-mentioned four areas.

There will then be a possibility of specialised further studies which should not entail advantages in terms of wages, and which may be commenced after several years of work in the labour market.

All adults who have not received 12 years of education shall be entitled to be educated for the number of years they lack in having completed the 12 years. In this period they will get a refund for wages lost, etc.

Student participation is aimed at in all courses, and for this reason the institutions should be split up into small self-governing units.

The detailed framing of the outlined educational system should be made at the decentral level, and the minority therefore proposes that an experimental period of, say 6 years, is launched right away; in this period it will be possible for the institutions freely to design and test courses with the outlined aim. These experiments should be described and evaluated, and they should be included in the basis for the framing of more lasting changes.

The minority furthermore draws a number of conclusions as regards teacher training and finally points to a number of immediate and more short-term efforts in relation to the three dominant educational problems: educational aid, the residual group, and youth unemployment.

Martin Jespersen, the Danish National Union of Students, ascribes a different function and importance to the U-90 report than the one expressed by the majority in the CCE. We have another opinion of the problems in the existing educational system, and another opinion of what should be done in order to create actual improvements.

The U-90 report will hardly form a direct basis for important decisions within the central administration, and will not draw the general public into an extensive discussion of the educational sector, such as is officially maintained by the CCE. In its understanding and 'criticism' of the present educational system the 'plan' is far too abstract and non-committal to make it possible to deduct anything concrete from it, and in the section dealing with reforms only a few minor adjustments are proposed. In relation to the general public the 'plan' will have a function of justification and of propaganda, i.e. it will rather act

as a passivizing factor than give any influence or provide actual understanding of the educational policy of the State.

The problems within the educational system are concealed or played down by the CCE majority, because they only deal very superficially with the situation within the different educational areas, and because the majority never goes further than to give some non-committal opinion or an outline of the different opinions that might be held. The point of U-90 report is that the present educational system is almost ideal, and that only a few adjustments here and there are needed. The CCE states that the larger part of the efforts should be concentrated on adult education, the education for the 16- to 19-year-olds, and the start at school, but no particularly remarkable proposals for reforms are made concerning these areas. In such an important field as adult education the proposals do not go much beyond advocating the granting of more funds to the existing system, despite of the fact that it is extremely criticizable and does not at all make allowance for the needs of the groups of people who have only completed a short course of study and the socially least advantaged. Correspondingly, the CCE tries to play down - or in fact tries to make look like unproblematic - the increasing state control and employer-orientation of the courses of further education.

The U-90 report does not point towards considerable improvements, because the CCE does not take as its basis the serious problems within the educational system that affect the ones who are studying, and incidentally also the majority of people in the general. The CCE considers the 'problems' and the 'models of solutions' from the point of view of the State, and from the point of view of the employers. Consequently, what is expressed in the U-90 report is not endeavours to get equality or democratization. The 'plan' is characterized by naive optimism of growth and describes society as unproblematic instead of admitting that the government measures in a situation of crisis and the swing to the right hit the educational sector in the form of retrenchments and political regimenting.

The circumstances are described in more detail in the minority statement made by the Danish National Union of Students; the statement touches on the content and importance of the U-90 report, the function of the educational system from kindergarten to adult education, and an outline of the proposals of the National Union of Students for an educational policy with more perspective.

OECD SALES AGENTS
DÉPOSITAIRES DES PUBLICATIONS DE L'OCDE

ARGENTINA – ARGENTINE
Carlos Hirsch S.R.L., Florida 165, 4° Piso (Galería Guemes)
1333 BUENOS-AIRES. Tel. 33-1787-2391 Y 30-7122

AUSTRALIA – AUSTRALIE
Australia & New Zealand Book Company Pty Ltd.,
23 Cross Street, (P.O.B. 459)
BROOKVALE NSW 2100 Tel. 938-2244

AUSTRIA – AUTRICHE
OECD Publications and Information Center
4 Simrockstrasse 5300 BONN Tel. (0223) 21 60 46/48

Local Agent:
Gerold and Co., Graben 31, WIEN I. Tel. 52.22.35

BELGIUM – BELGIQUE
LCLS
44 rue Otlet, B1070 BRUXELLES. Tel. 02-521 28 13

BRAZIL – BRÉSIL
Mestre Jou S.A., Rua Guaipá 518,
Caixa Postal 24090, 05089 SAO PAULO 10. Tel. 261-1920
Rua Senador Dantas 19 s/205-6, RIO DE JANEIRO GB.
Tel. 232-07. 32

CANADA
Renouf Publishing Company Limited,
2182 St. Catherine Street West,
MONTREAL, Quebec H3H 1M7 Tel. (514) 937-3519

DENMARK – DANEMARK
Munksgaards Boghandel,
Nørregade 6, 1165 KØBENHAVN K. Tel. (01) 12 85 70

FINLAND – FINLANDE
Akateeminen Kirjakauppa
Keskuskatu 1, 00100 HELSINKI 10. Tel. 65-11-22

FRANCE
Bureau des Publications de l'OCDE,
2 rue André-Pascal, 75775 PARIS CEDEX 16. Tel. (1) 524.81.67

Principal correspondant :
13602 AIX-EN-PROVENCE : Librairie de l'Université.
Tel. 26.18.08

GERMANY – ALLEMAGNE
OECD Publications and Information Center
4 Simrockstrasse 5300 BONN Tel. (0228) 21 60 45-48

GREECE – GRÈCE
Librairie Kauffmann, 28 rue du Stade,
ATHÈNES 132. Tel. 322.21.60

HONG-KONG
Government Information Services,
Sales and Publications Office, Baskerville House, 2nd floor,
13 Duddell Street, Central. Tel. 5-214375

ICELAND – ISLANDE
Snaebjörn Jónsson and Co., h.f.,
Hafnarstraeti 4 and 9, P.O.B. 1131, REYKJAVIK.
Tel. 13133/14281/11936

INDIA – INDE
Oxford Book and Stationery Co.:
NEW DELHI, Scindia House. Tel. 45896
CALCUTTA, 17 Park Street. Tel. 240832

INDONESIA – INDONÉSIE
PDIN-LIPI, P.O. Box 3065/JKT., JAKARTA. Tel. 583467

ITALY – ITALIE
Libreria Commissionaria Sansoni:
Via Lamarmora 45, 50121 FIRENZE. Tel. 579751
Via Bartolini 29, 20155 MILANO. Tel. 365083
Sub-depositari:
Editrice e Libreria Herder,
Piazza Montecitorio 120, 00 186 ROMA. Tel. 674628
Libreria Hoepli, Via Hoepli 5, 20121 MILANO. Tel. 865446
Libreria Lattes, Via Garibaldi 3, 10122 TORINO. Tel. 519274
La diffusione delle edizioni OCSE è inoltre assicurata dalle migliori librerie nelle città più importanti.

JAPAN – JAPON
OECD Publications and Information Center,
Landic Akasaka Bldg., 2-3-4 Akasaka,
Minato-ku, TOKYO 107 Tel. 586-2016

KOREA – CORÉE
Pan Korea Book Corporation,
P.O.Box n°101 Kwangwhamun, SEOUL. Tel. 72-7369

LEBANON – LIBAN
Documenta Scientifica/Redico,
Edison Building, Bliss Street, P.O.Box 5641, BEIRUT.
Tel. 354429–344425

MALAYSIA – MALAISIE
and/et **SINGAPORE-SINGAPOUR**
University of Malaya Co-operative Bookshop Ltd.
P.O. Box 1127, Jalan Pantai Baru
KUALA LUMPUR Tel. 51425, 54058, 54361

THE NETHERLANDS – PAYS-BAS
Staatsuitgeverij
Verzendboekhandel Chr. Plantijnstraat
S-GRAVENHAGE Tel. nr. 070-789911
Voor bestellingen: Tel. 070-789208

NEW ZEALAND – NOUVELLE-ZÉLANDE
The Publications Manager,
Government Printing Office,
WELLINGTON: Mulgrave Street (Private Bag),
World Trade Centre, Cubacade, Cuba Street,
Rutherford House, Lambton Quay, Tel. 737-320
AUCKLAND: Rutland Street (P.O.Box 5344), Tel. 32.919
CHRISTCHURCH: 130 Oxford Tce (Private Bag), Tel. 50.331
HAMILTON: Barton Street (P.O.Box 857), Tel. 80.103
DUNEDIN: T & G Building, Princes Street (P.O.Box 1104),
Tel. 78.294

NORWAY – NORVÈGE
J.G. TANUM A/S Karl Johansgate 43
P.O. Box 1177 Sentrum OSLO 1 Tel (02) 80 12 60

PAKISTAN
Mirza Book Agency, 65 Shahrah Quaid-E-Azam, LAHORE 3.
Tel. 66839

PORTUGAL
Livraria Portugal, Rua do Carmo 70-74,
1117 LISBOA CODEX. Tel. 360582/3

SPAIN – ESPAGNE
Mundi-Prensa Libros, S.A.
Castelló 37, Apartado 1223, MADRID-1. Tel. 275.46.55
Libreria Bastinos, Pelayo, 52, BARCELONA 1. Tel. 222.06.00

SWEDEN – SUÈDE
AB CE Fritzes Kungl Hovbokhandel,
Box 16 356, S 103 27 STH, Regeringsgatan 12,
DS STOCKHOLM. Tel. 08/23 89 00

SWITZERLAND – SUISSE
OECD Publications and Information Center
4 Simrockstrasse 5300 BONN Tel. (0223) 21 60 46/48
Agent local :
Librairie Payot, 6 rue Grenus, 1211 GENÈVE 11. Tel. 022-31.89.50

TAIWAN – FORMOSE
National Book Company,
84-5 Sing Sung South Rd., Sec. 3, TAIPEI 107. Tel. 321.0698

THAILAND – THAILANDE
Suksit Siam Co., Ltd., 1715 Rama IV Rd.
Samyan, BANGKOK 5 Tel. 2511630

UNITED KINGDOM – ROYAUME-UNI
H.M. Stationery Office, P.O.B. 569,
LONDON SE1 9 NH. Tel. 01-928-6977, Ext. 410 or
49 High Holborn, LONDON WC1V 6 HB (personal callers)
Branches at: EDINBURGH, BIRMINGHAM, BRISTOL,
MANCHESTER, CARDIFF, BELFAST.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA – ÉTATS-UNIS
OECD Publications and Information Center, Suite 1207,
1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006.
Tel. (202) 724-1857

VENEZUELA
Libreria del Este, Avda. F. Miranda 52, Edificio Galipán,
CARACAS 106. Tel. 32 23 01/33 26 04/33 24 73

YUGOSLAVIA – YOUGOSLAVIE
Jugoslovenska Knjiga, Terazije 27, P.O.B. 36, BEOGRAD.
Tel. 621-992

Les commandes provenant de pays où l'OCDE n'a pas encore désigné de dépositaire peuvent être adressées à :
OCDE, Bureau des Publications, 2 rue André-Pascal, 75775 PARIS CEDEX 16.
Orders and inquiries from countries where sales agents have not yet been appointed may be sent to:
OECD, Publications Office, 2 rue André-Pascal, 75775 PARIS CEDEX 16.